



THE NEGRO AND THE METROPOLIS

By

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Richard Langendorf

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Note on Numbering of Tables

## Example:

The Roman numerals refer to the series of tables, as indicated in the Table of Contents and below

IIA-2      The letter and last number indicate the specific table in the series

            The letter indicates the subject of the table

## Subject Code

A          Population Growth and Distribution

B          Mobility: Recent and Lifetime Migration Status and Characteristics of Migrants

C          Education

D          Employment Status and Occupation

E          Income and Earnings

F          Housing

G          Misc.: Includes Health, Family Status, etc.

H          Metropolitan Employment Structure

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## **INTRODUCTION**

## INTRODUCTION

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This study was begun early in 1966. That was a time for optimism. It was a time when it appeared that a more vigorous and forthright attack upon the problems of the ghetto and residential segregation would soon be forthcoming. First, the poverty program promised to lessen Negro-white disparities and create an environment in which the white community would more honestly confront the inequities of poverty and discrimination. Second, the Watts riot of August, 1965, signalled the failure of the Civil Rights Movement and civil rights legislation to affect, in a significant way, the conditions of life for the Negro in the Northern ghetto. It appeared that concern might advance beyond elimination of de jure segregation to encompass the de facto segregation of the North. Third, President Johnson, in a message before Congress, had requested legislation to eliminate discrimination in housing. Fourth, the newly created Department of Housing and Urban Development provided a vehicle for a more active Federal role in housing desegregation. Fifth, recent public opinion polls had indicated that the white population was much more willing to accept a Negro neighbor than had been indicated in the past.

When this study was initiated it thus appeared that the key problem was not whether there should be an active policy of housing desegregation, but rather, what type of policy would most successfully accomplish desegregation. This study was, consequently, originally designed to include four major parts: the first to define the need for change, the second to diagnose the pressures for and against change, the third to recommend policies and programs for change, and the fourth to define the implications of change programs for change agents.

However, as this study advanced, the mood in the nation changed,

and the critical issues changed along with the mood. The war in Vietnam blunted the thrust of the poverty program. The Watts riot and subsequent riots, rather than awakening the white community to the need for change, served to stiffen white resistance to change. The white "backlash" was evident in many of the elections throughout the nation in November, 1966. Congress reflected this national attitude and refused to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1966, primarily because of the provision in the act against discrimination in housing. The Department of Housing and Urban Development, dependent upon Congress for appropriations, offered little leadership in fostering housing desegregation. Finally, Civil Rights groups did shift their attention from the South to the Northern urban ghettos, but, with the exception of Dr. Martin Luther King in Chicago, they pressed for improvements within the ghetto and relinquished demands for the opportunity to escape from the ghetto. Black Power advocates, Negroes and white liberals alike, perceived residential desegregation as a means of dissipating black power and lessening the likelihood of achieving improvements within the ghetto. By 1967 Negroes and whites in America were again wondering whether residential desegregation would be worth the effort.

As a result of these changes in the nation, the focus of this study has shifted from the development of programs for desegregation to an analysis of the costs and consequences of residential segregation. Although little is known of what might constitute an effective program of desegregation, it has become quite clear in the past year that this lack of technical knowledge has not inhibited the development of a desegregation policy. Rather, there has been a lack of political will and public support for effecting such a policy. It is, therefore, the pur-



pose of this study to more clearly identify the costs of residential segregation and to thereby assist civil rights groups, planners, politicians, administrators, and the general public to better assess the importance of housing desegregation and to assign it the appropriate priority in public policy.

To advocates of desegregation the costs of segregation appear clear and the case for a policy of residential desegregation appears obvious. To the opponents of desegregation, the case against such a public policy appears equally obvious. The arguments for and against desegregation have often been clouded by emotional conviction, or fear, and much of the thinking upon the subject has become rigid and stereotyped. Important questions have been debated, but the assumptions basic to the arguments have remained untested, or they were tested at a previous time when different conditions pertained. The basic assumptions of these arguments have been numerous.

First, there have been those arguments that are founded upon moral conviction.

- Some urge desegregation, as the late President Kennedy declared, "Because it is right." For these advocates, the promise of the American creed cannot be fulfilled without assuring equal opportunity in housing choice, as in all other areas of human activity.

- Some oppose a policy of desegregation because of the belief in the primacy of property rights over human rights. They believe that it is wrong to deprive the property owner of the right to discriminate in the sale or lease of his property.

- Some oppose a policy of desegregation because of the con-

viction that the races should remain separated. Typifying this position is the following excerpt from the classroom text officially proposed by the White Citizen's Council of Mississippi for third and fourth grades in all Mississippi schools:

"God wanted the white people to live alone. And he wanted colored people to live alone. . . . Do you know that some people want the negroes to live with white people? These people want us to be unhappy. . . . God has made us different. And God knows best. Did you know that our country will grow weak if we mix the races?" [Cited 175, p.149]\*

These arguments will not be explored within this study. These positions are essentially "gut" positions, and those that hold one or another of these positions are not apt to be swayed by reason.

However, there is also serious disagreement regarding the importance of desegregation among those who agree in the primacy of human rights over property rights and among those who want to see the Negro given an equal chance in America. These disagreements are in regards to the best tactics for achieving equal status for Negro Americans, and they derive from differing assumptions about the causes of the comparatively low socio-economic status of the Negroes. It is to this debate that this study is directed.

Those who, for tactical reasons, do not assign a high priority to residential desegregation or those who oppose integration may base their position upon several different, though not mutually exclusive, assumptions.

- The low socio-economic status of the Northern urban Negro results from the difficulties of adapting rural ways to urban needs.

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\* Citations of publications and tables will appear in the text within brackets. Numbers, as "175" above, refer to numbered items in bibliography. Items cited as "11F-3" refer to Table 11F-3 in the Appendix.

A corollary of this assumption is that ghettos may offer necessary supports in the process of adaptation.

- The low socio-economic status of the Negro results from low self-esteem. If the Negro is to develop confidence in himself it will be necessary for him to develop pride in his race. Segregation affords the opportunity to develop a positive ethnic identity, whereas desegregation results in the loss of ethnic identity and represents an attempt to become white, or to be like white Americans.

- The low socio-economic status of the Negro population results from the lack of power of that population. Segregation facilitates political organization, upon which political power is based, and it permits the concentration of enough Negroes in a voting district to enable the Negroes to control the outcomes of political elections in those districts in which they are concentrated. Thus segregation can contribute to an increase in political power and self determination for Negro Americans.

- White Americans now control the political institutions and they will continue to dominate those institutions. However, Negroes can bargain with whites within the political arena. As the white population opposes residential integration, efforts by Negroes to desegregate will alienate them from the white population and reduce white support for needed programs of social and economic development.

- White power is irredeemably corrupt. In the words of Malcolm X:

"It is not a case of wanting integration or separation, it is a case of wanting freedom, justice, and equality. . . . we don't think that it is possible for the American white man in

sincerity to take the action necessary to correct the unjust conditions that 20 million black people here are made to suffer . . . . instead of asking or seeking to integrate into the American society we want to face the facts of the problem the way they are, and separate ourselves." [262, p.363]

Those who argue in favor of desegregation base their position on a number of different propositions.

- Segregation contributes directly to the low socio-economic status of the Negro population. Segregation results in the loss of social and economic opportunities.

- A corollary of the above assumption is that the difficulties of the urban Negro do not result from problems of adapting rural life styles to the urban situation. Rather, a realistic adaptation to the limited possibilities of urban life in the ghetto results in the development of life styles inimical to upward mobility. The adaptation to life in the ghetto is an assimilation into a self-perpetuating culture of poverty.

- The low socio-economic status of the Negro population results from low self-esteem. However, segregation itself, and the loss of social and economic opportunities that result from segregation, serve to lower self-esteem. Furthermore, Negroes will not be able to overcome feelings of inferiority unless they are afforded opportunities to measure their worth in direct competition with white Americans. Segregation deprives Negroes of this opportunity.

- The low socio-economic status of the Negro results from acts of discrimination by white Americans. Such discriminatory practices stem from racial prejudice. Since increasing interracial contact often serves to reduce prejudice, residential desegregation may serve to reduce prejudice and thereby reduce racial discrimination.

Conversely, segregation may contribute to the perpetuation of existing patterns of prejudice and discrimination.

- The low socio-economic status of Negroes results from their lack of political power. However, since Negroes comprise only about 10 percent of the American population, they cannot win political power alone. As the Civil Rights theorist, Bayard Rustin, has stated:

"We need allies. The future of the Negro struggle depends on whether the contradictions of this society can be resolved by a coalition of progressive forces which becomes the effective political majority in the United States. I speak of the coalition that staged the March on Washington, passed the Civil Rights Act, and laid the basis for the Johnson landslide -- Negroes, trade unionists, liberals, and religious groups." [271, n.p.]

It is likely that a program of integration and equal opportunity may provide a firmer basis for such a coalition than one of separatism.

These various foundations upon which arguments for segregation or desegregation are erected are subject to systematic investigation. The resolution of these arguments depends, in large part, upon a better understanding of the present conditions and future possibilities for life in the ghetto -- it depends upon an understanding of the functions of the Negro ghetto. For, if segregation does not serve to reduce social and economic opportunities, then there may be no urgent need for desegregation, and the maintenance of the ghetto may serve to enhance Negro self-esteem and create a power base, at least at the local level. On the other hand, if the confinement of Negroes to ghetto areas does serve to reduce social and economic opportunities, then one must carefully weigh possible gains in Negro self-esteem resulting from group cohesion against the possible losses in self-esteem resulting from lost social and economic

opportunities. Furthermore, one must also weigh possible gains in political power resulting from segregation against possible losses in economic and other forms of power that may also be concomitants of segregation. If segregation does indeed reduce socio-economic opportunities, then Negroes could well end up controlling the ghetto -- but this may be an empty victory if the ghetto is isolated from the broad spectrum of American economic and social opportunities and if it is in conflict with the political organizations of the rest of America.

This study thus focuses upon the functions of the Negro ghetto. An initial assumption of this study was that large ghettos in large metropolitan areas may differ in important ways from small ghettos in smaller communities. This study has been limited to the larger metropolitan areas, and it explores relationships between the ghetto and the metropolitan area as a whole. While some of the findings of this study may be relevant to all situations where segregation exists, it should be remembered that these particular findings have been derived, primarily, from conditions in the large metropolises.

The present conditions and future possibilities for life in the ghetto depend, in part, upon the size of the ghetto and population changes that are occurring within the ghetto and within the remainder of the metropolitan area. This study therefore begins with a review of the growth and concentration of the Negro population in the larger metropolitan areas and it ends with a projection of these trends.

If one is to evaluate the significance of in-migration from the rural South for the present socio-economic conditions of the Negroes in these larger metropolitan areas, it is necessary to know something of the importance of migration in the growth of the Negro populations in

these areas; it is necessary to know something of the background and characteristics of the migrants into these areas; and it is important to know how well these migrants adjust and compete, relative to the Negro population born in these areas. These topics are explored in the first three chapters.

Before one can speculate upon the consequences of segregation, it is necessary to find out about the conditions of life in these larger metropolitan areas. A number of questions should be answered. Are Negroes living in the larger metropolitan areas better off than Negroes living elsewhere in the United States? Have Negroes in these areas advanced socio-economically in recent years? Have some groups been advancing while others have made little or no progress? Are those who migrated from the South less successful than those who were born in the Northern urban areas? Have socio-economic disparities between the lower segment and the upper segment of the Negro population been narrowing or widening? Have socio-economic disparities between the Negro and white populations in these areas been narrowing or widening? The third chapter is addressed to these questions.

The next chapter deals directly with the relationships between segregation and the socio-economic conditions of the Negro population. It begins with an analysis of the historical and psychological meaning of the ghetto for the Negro American and it explores the relationships between segregation and self esteem. Next, it evaluates the relationships between residential segregation and educational opportunity, motivation, and achievement. Then it defines the relationships between job opportunity and ghetto-ization. Next, the relationship between the condition and cost of housing and segregation are defined. Finally, the

inter-relationships between self-esteem, educational achievement, job opportunity, housing, and income are defined. This chapter defines the specific means by which segregation hinders upward mobility.

The final chapter confronts the following questions. What would happen if existing trends continue -- what would happen to the Negro population in the major metropolitan areas and what would happen to the metropolitan population as a whole -- Negro and white? If citizen action and public policy were directed towards improving conditions within the ghetto, what changes might be hoped for? What would be the limitation of such an approach? If citizen action and public policy were focused upon desegregation, what changes might occur? What would be the limitations of this approach? What opportunities exist for meaningful change for the Negro population and for the relationships between Negroes and whites in America?

One cannot answer these policy issues without an understanding of the consequences of segregation. One cannot understand the consequences of segregation without interpreting the socio-economic changes of the Negro population in the larger metropolitan areas. One cannot interpret these changes without a knowledge of the impact of immigration and the growth and concentration of the Negro population in these areas. This study begins with the exploration of the growth and concentration of the Negro population in the larger metropolitan areas.



## **CHAPTER I**

# **GROWTH AND CONCENTRATION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION**

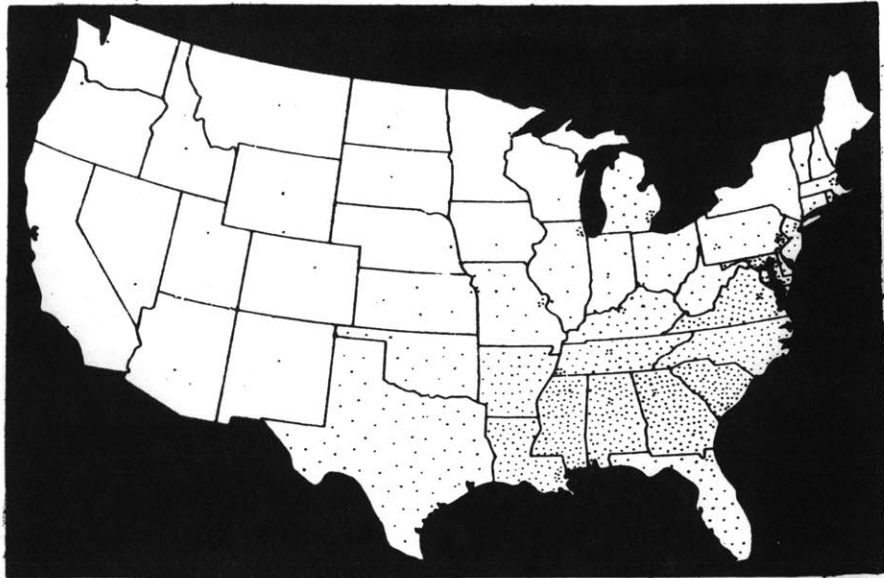
GROWTH AND CONCENTRATION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION:

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

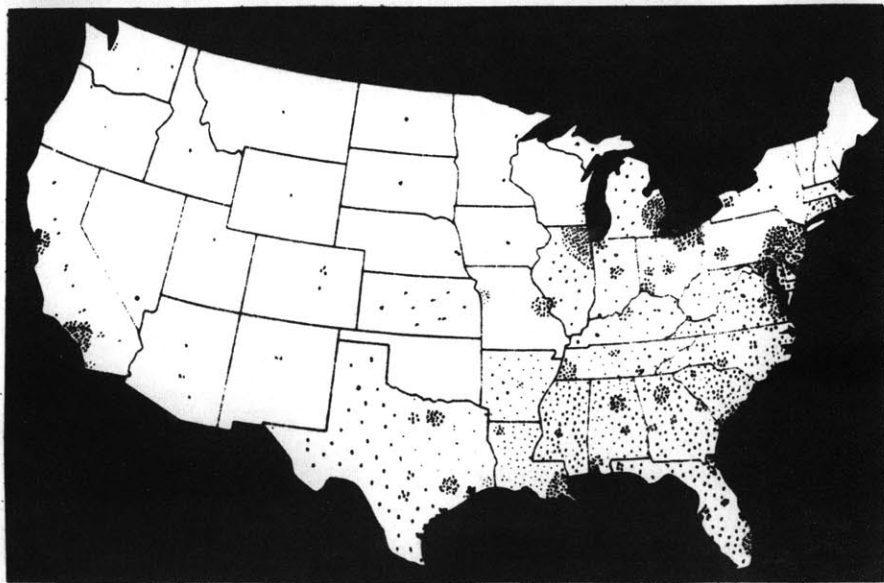
I

DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES BY STATE AND CITY OF RESIDENCE: 1910 AND 1960

1910



1960



Note: Each dot represents 10,000 Negroes. Population concentrations are indicated by clusters of dots.

Source: [174, pp. 88f.]

One of the great population changes of modern history is depicted in the maps on the preceding page. Fifty years ago the Negro American was likely to have lived in a Southern rural area. Today he is more likely than a white American to be living in an urban area, and an increasing proportion of the Negro population is living in the large Northern metropolitan areas. The future for the American Negro will, to a large extent, depend upon his future in the major Northern metropolitan areas, and the future of those areas will depend upon what happens to the Negroes there.

- More than three-fourths of the nonwhite population now live in urban areas.
- Nearly 30 percent of the nonwhite population are living in the twelve largest metropolitan areas in the United States. Over 60 percent of the nonwhite population outside of the deep South live in these twelve areas.
- Within the twelve largest metropolitan areas 5 out of 6 Negroes, compared to less than 3 in 6 whites, are living in the central cities. In Chicago 91 percent of the nonwhites live in the central city and in Cleveland 97.5 percent of the metropolitan nonwhite population is concentrated in the central city.
- Within these cities Negroes are largely confined to ghetto areas. In the center cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas over two million nonwhites, more than 40 percent of the nonwhite population in those cities and more than 10 percent of the nonwhite population in the United States, live in those Negro areas. The ghetto in St. Louis contains almost 100,000 and is 96.6 percent Negro. The Baltimore ghetto contains over 140,000 and is

96.4 percent Negro. The Manhattan ghetto holds over a quarter of a million Negroes. The Chicago ghettos are the largest, containing nearly a half million Negroes. Negroes in suburbs are also likely to be confined to ghetto areas.

- Between 1950 and 1960, more than 40 percent of the non-white population growth in the United States occurred in the central cities of these twelve metropolitan areas.

- For every two Negroes living in these cities in 1940, there were more than 5 living there in 1960. In the period 1940 to 1960 the Negro population of New York City increased nearly two and one-half times, to over 1 million. The Negro population of Philadelphia doubled. In Detroit the Negro population more than tripled and in Los Angeles County it increased sixfold.

- The Negro population growth in these major metropolitan areas has been occurring in the central cities. In contrast, the white population growth has been in the suburbs. Indeed, the white population in a number of cities has been declining. Between 1940 and 1960 the white population of the city of St. Louis declined by 24 percent. Cleveland and Detroit's white populations declined by nearly 20 percent, and the white population of Washington, D.C. declined by more than 25 percent.

- As a result of the loss of the white population and the increase in the Negro population, this nation's capital city had become more than 50 percent nonwhite in the 1950's. It is likely that a number of other major cities will have majority nonwhite populations before the end of the 1960's.

The growth and concentration of the Negro population in the

centers of the largest metropolitan areas is the result of long range shifts in the population of the United States.

- The annual growth rate of the population has increased markedly in the postwar period. The nonwhite population has been increasing at a substantially faster rate than the white.

- The regional distribution of the population has been shifting for many decades. There has been a long-term trend for population to move from the South to the North and West. There has been a secondary population movement from the East to the West.

- For many decades the population of the United States has been shifting from rural to urban areas. Whereas at the turn of the century a substantially smaller proportion of Negroes than whites were living in urban areas, by 1960 a higher proportion of Negroes than whites were living in urban areas. Negroes have been particularly attracted to the larger metropolitan areas.

- The metropolitan areas have been growing rapidly and their populations have been redistributing themselves within these areas. Most of the increase in the metropolitan Negro population has taken place in the central cities. In contrast, the growth in the white population has been occurring in the suburbs.

The dynamics of the cities and the future of the Negro in the cities cannot be understood without consideration of these major population shifts. These shifts will be traced, therefore, in greater detail.

POPULATION GROWTH [198, pp.11f., p.756; 199, p.21]

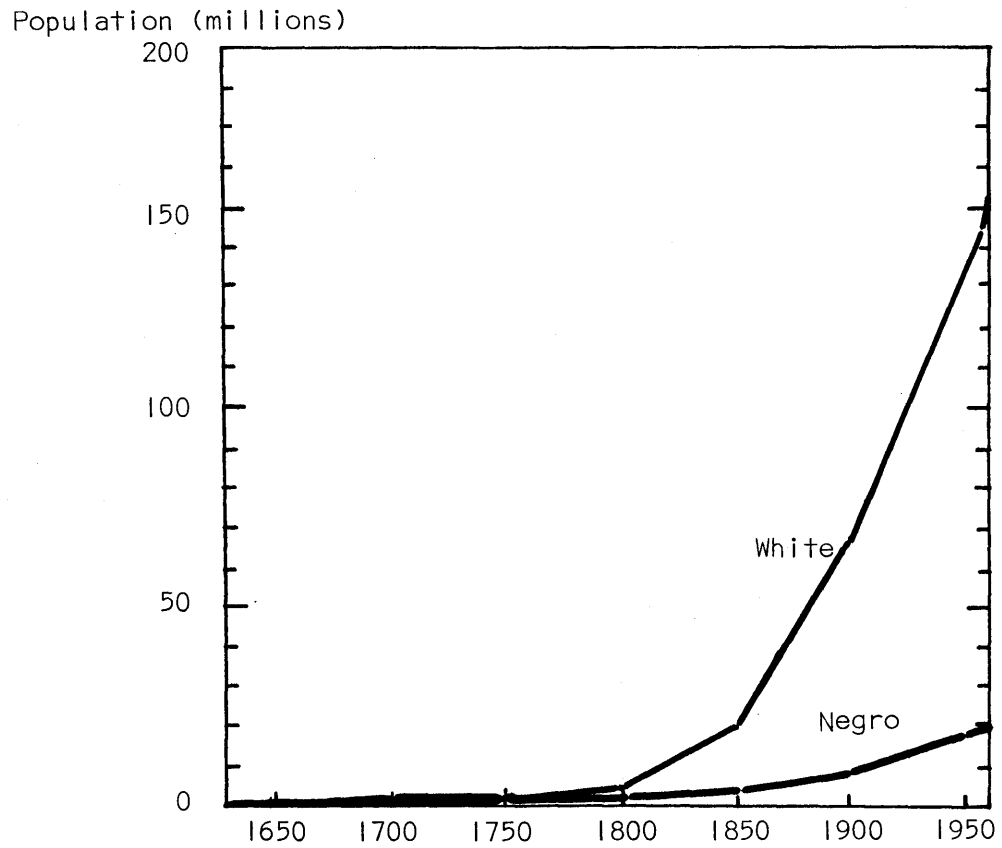
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In 1770, Negroes accounted for twice as large a proportion of the United States population as they do today. At the time of the first census of the United States, 1790, there were about 3.2 million white persons and 757 thousand Negroes. Negroes constituted almost one-fifth of the population at this time (19.3 percent). During the next forty years Negroes remained about one-fifth of the population, as both the Negro and white population gained primarily by natural increase, the excess of births over deaths. From the mid-Nineteenth Century until 1930 the Negro population declined in relationship to the white population, as the Negroes continued to gain primarily through natural increase while the white population entered a period of rapid growth during the major period of migration from Europe. By 1930 the Negro population was less than one-tenth of the population (9.7 percent). The immigration laws of the 1920's reduced the flow of European immigrants to a slow trickle, and in the following period both Negroes and whites again gained primarily through natural increase.

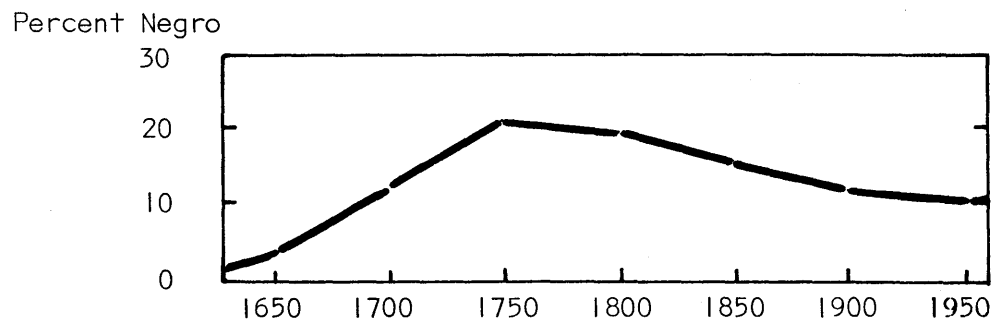
During the depression and early war years both the Negro and the white populations had declining birth rates, although the Negro rates remained substantially above that of the white population. However, in the post-war years there has been a sharp increase in birth rates and population growth, and the Negroes have continued to increase at a substantially more rapid rate than the whites. Between 1945 and 1965 the white population increased about 35 percent while the Negro increased about 50 percent. In 1965 there were 20.9 million Negroes in the United States, representing 10.9 percent of the population.

2 NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES: 1630-1960

(A) POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE

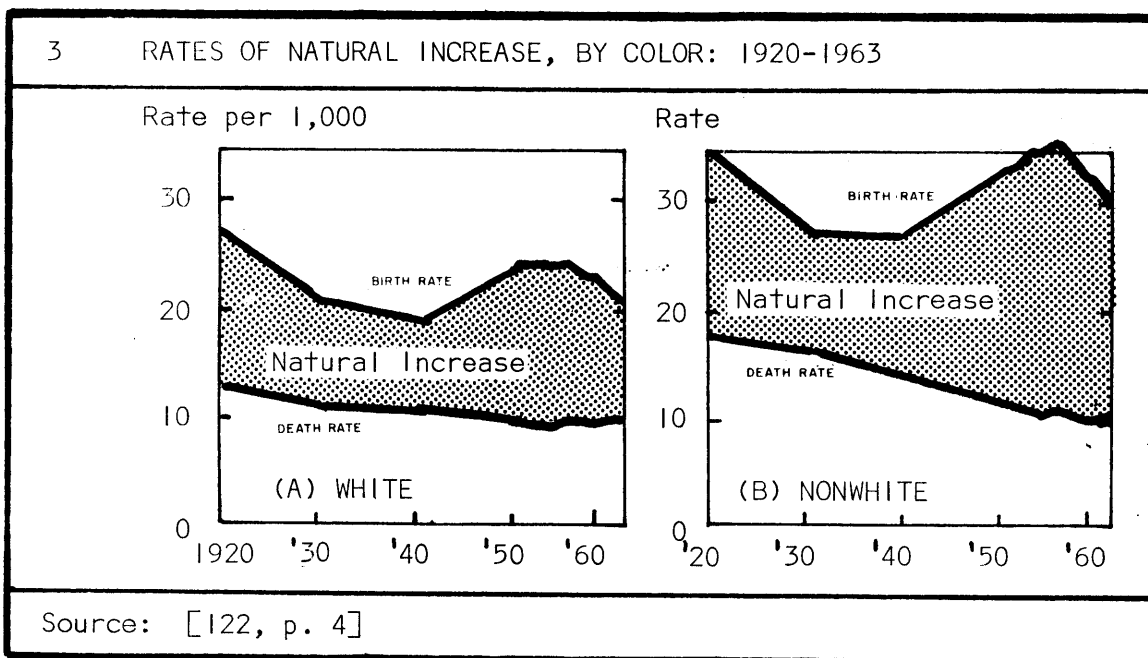


(B) PERCENT NEGRO OF TOTAL POPULATION IN THE UNITED STATES



Sources: [198, p. 756; 199, p. 21]

FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO RECENT NATURAL POPULATION GROWTH



The rapid increase in Negro population in the post-war period has resulted from the convergence of a number of factors. Natural population increase results from the excess of births over deaths. Birth rates are influenced by the age distribution of the population (the percentage of the population that are women of child bearing age), fertility rates (the number of births by women of child-bearing age), and marriage and illegitimacy rates for various age groups in the population. Among the most important factors influencing the death rates are the age distribution of the population (an older population would have a higher death rate), the life expectancy of the population, and infant mortality rates. Thus natural population increases result from a combination of several important factors. During the short run, the most publicized and dramatic changes occur in the fertility rates. However, over the longer term, changes in the age distribution of the population, infant mortality, and life expectancy may be equally important, more stable,



and easier to predict.

The increase in Negro population has resulted from the following changes:

- Infant mortality has declined steadily throughout this century. In 1915 the nonwhite infant mortality rate was 181.2 per thousand live births, compared to 98.5 per thousand for the white population. By 1964 the nonwhite infant mortality rate had declined to 41.1, compared to 21.6 for the white population. Both the white and nonwhite population appear to be pursuing a long run trend towards lower infant mortality rates. [94]

- Life expectancy at birth has increased steadily from 33.0 years in 1900 to 63.6 years in 1965 for the nonwhite population. During the same period the life expectancy of the white population increased from 47.6 years to 70.6 years. The increase in life expectancy during these years was due primarily to the numerous improvements in medicine and the improvements in the socio-economic status of the population. As medical science continues to develop and if the socio-economic status of nonwhites improves, a further increase in the life expectancy may be expected. [34]

- The median age of the nonwhite population is substantially lower than the white population, and the gap between the two has continued to grow. In 1950 the median age of the nonwhite population was 26.1 years, compared to 30.8 years for the white population. By 1964 the median age of the nonwhite and white populations had decreased to 21.9 and 29.3 years respectively. [198, p.11; 199, p.23] The comparative youth of the nonwhite population tends to increase the birth rates and lower the death rates rela-

tive to the white population.

- Between 1935 and 1960 nonwhite birth rates (per 1,000 women aged 15-44) increased from under 100 to over 160 while white birth rates increased from about 75 to over 110. From 1947 to 1960 nonwhite birth rates increased at a much faster rate than white birth rates. The demographer, Philip Hauser, attributes the rapid rise in nonwhite fertility to "the striking rise in nonwhite urban fertility, largely because of the decrease in childlessness brought about by improved health." [87, p.854] Since 1960, birth rates for both the white and nonwhite populations appear to have declined somewhat, and it is difficult to foretell what may happen in the coming years. [122]

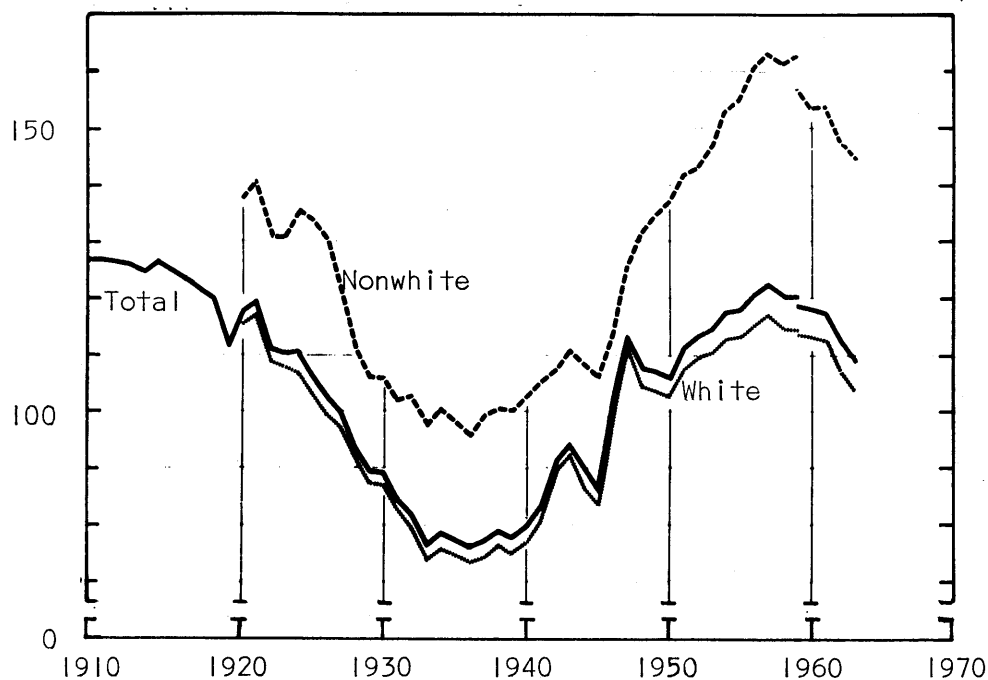
- In 1960 less than half (48.6 percent) of all nonwhite women were married and living with their husbands while almost two-thirds (63.7 percent) of white women were married and with their husbands. However, while the rate of stable household formation for white women is nearly 50 percent higher than for nonwhites, the effect upon the birth rates is mitigated by a nonwhite illegitimacy ratio nearly 8 times that of white population. In 1963 3.07 percent of the births to white women were illegitimate compared to 23.6 percent for nonwhite women. Both family stability and illegitimacy rates are affected by employment and income. [228] It may be anticipated that if the economic status of the Negro improves, there will be a consequent increase in family stability resulting in an increase in legitimate births and a reduction in illegitimate births.

While fertility rates are difficult to predict for the coming

years, the decreasing infant mortality rates, increasing life expectancy, and lower median age of the nonwhite population favor a continuing rapid increase in population, and at a rate substantially greater than for the white population. If the nonwhite rate of population growth in 1960 is sustained, the population will double in a little over thirty years. At the 1960 growth rate, the white population will require more than 50 years to double. However, because of migration by the nonwhite population, the impact of the population increase will vary considerably in different regions of the country.

4 FERTILITY RATE, BY COLOR: 1910-1963

Rate per 1,000

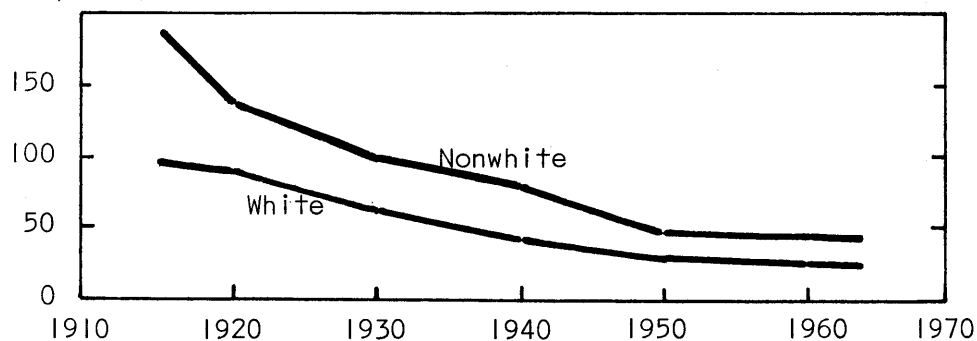


Note: Rate per 1,000 females aged 15-44 years. Trend line for 1959-63 based on registered live births; trend line for 1909-59 based on live births adjusted for underregistration.

Source: [122, p. 5]

5 INFANT MORTALITY RATE PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS, BY COLOR: 1915-63

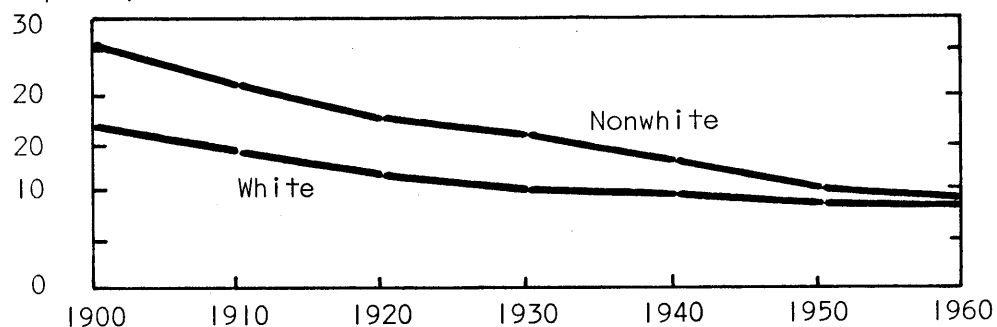
Rate per 1,000



Source: [198, p. 25; 199, p. 56]

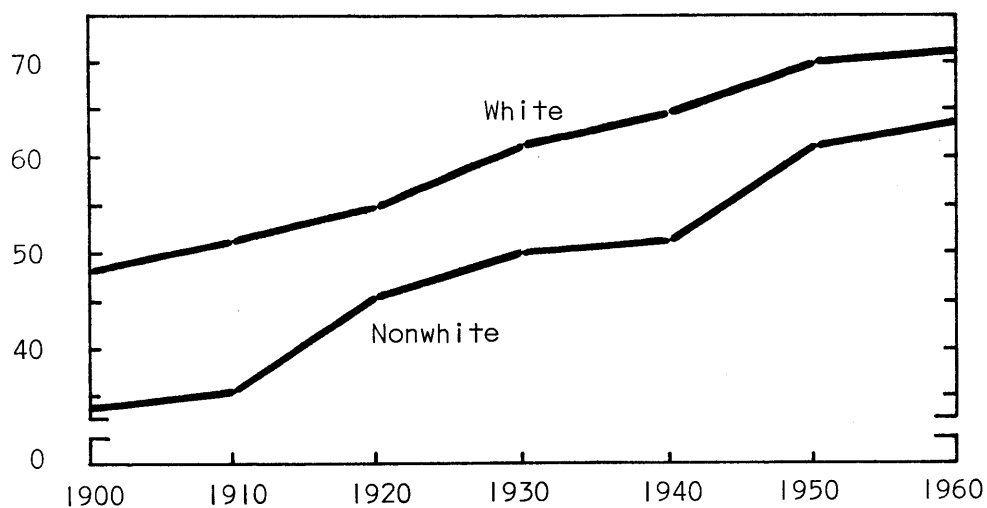
6 DEATH RATE, BY COLOR: 1900-1960

Rate per 1,000



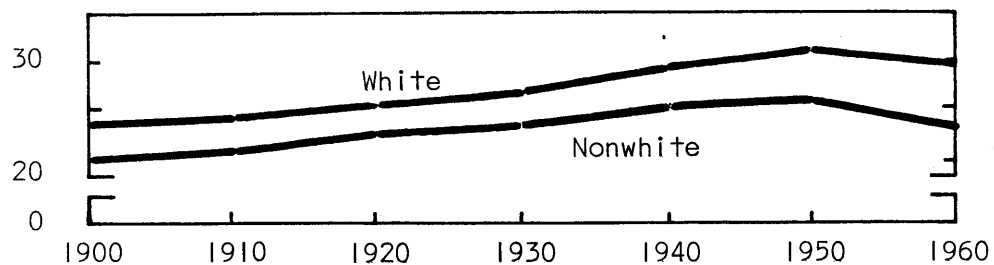
7 EXPECTANCY OF LIFE AT BIRTH, BY COLOR: 1900-1960

Years



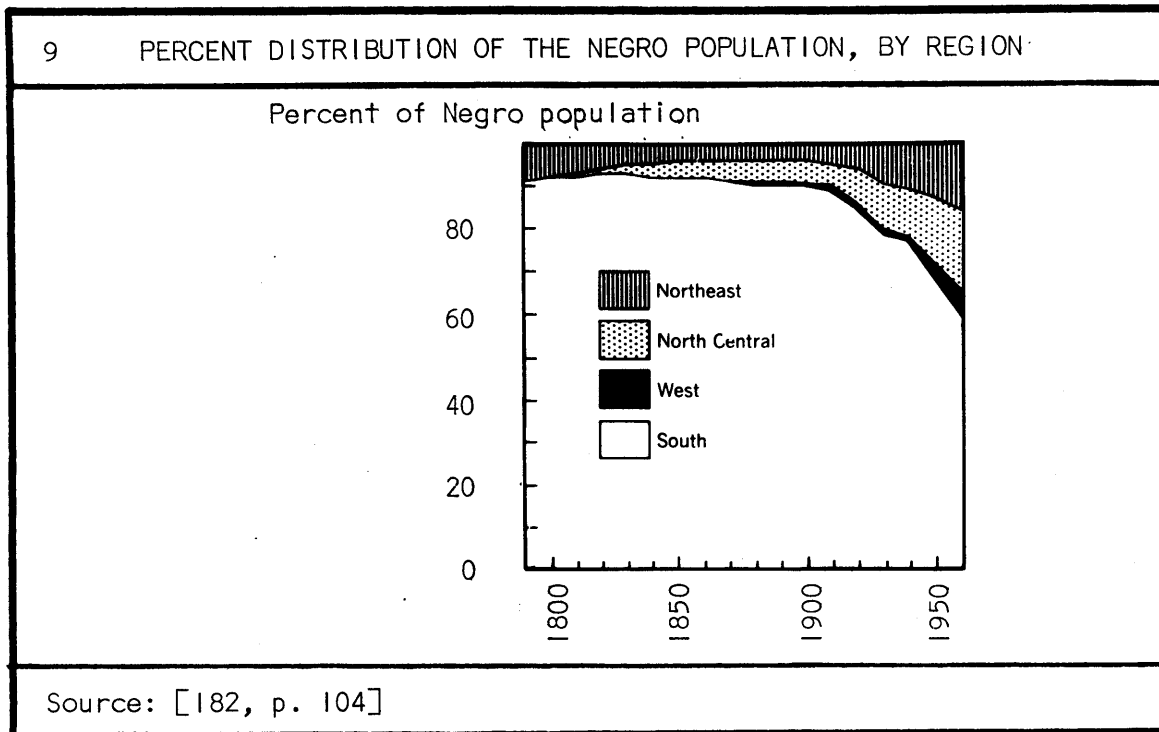
8 MEDIAN AGE OF POPULATION, BY COLOR: 1900-1960

Years



Sources: [198, pp. 11 and 25; 199, pp. 21, 53, 56]

CHANGES IN THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION



In 1964 a little more than half (54.4 percent) of the Negro population of the United States lived in the South. In 1910 nearly nine in ten (89 percent) Negroes lived in the South. By 1960 New York State had a larger Negro population than any state in the South. These changes in the distribution of Negroes represent large scale migrations of Negroes from the South to other regions of the country. [182, pp. 106f.]

The Negro population remained concentrated in the South from the birth of the country until shortly before World War I. With the onset of the war in Europe, the immigration that was bringing more than a million Europeans to the Northern industrial cities each year was brought to a halt. At the same time, United States preparations for war required a continued expansion in the industrial labor force. Many North-

ern firms sent recruiters into the South to encourage the migration of Negro laborers. As Negro workers came North, they sent for their relatives and friends, and the exodus from the South had begun. Between 1910 and 1920, net migration of Negroes from the South totaled 454,300. The migration increased each decade, except during the depression years, until it reached a peak of 1,457,000 between 1950 and 1960. Between 1910 and 1960 the South lost more than 4 million Negroes through net migration to other regions of the country. More than 70 percent of these migrants were absorbed by six states: New York, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and California. Whereas in 1910 about 10 percent of the Negro population resided outside the South, by 1960 about 20 percent of the Negro population resided in the Northeast, about 20 percent in the North Central, and about 8 percent in the Western region of the United States. [182, pp.108-114]

Since 1960 the pattern of migration has shifted somewhat. While the number of Negroes leaving the South continues to increase, the number of Negroes returning to the South has also increased. As a result the average annual net migration out of the South since 1960 has been almost half of what it was between 1940 and 1960. However, much of this change in net migration from the South resulted from the migration of Negroes from the North Central region into the South. A second important change in migration patterns has been the increasing flow of Negroes to the West from the Northeast and North Central regions. Whereas in 1959-1960 only 2 thousand nonwhite in-migrants to the West came from the North, by 1964-1965 the number of in-migrants had increased to 17 thousand. Thus the Negro population, like the white population, has begun to migrate from the North to the West, and particularly to

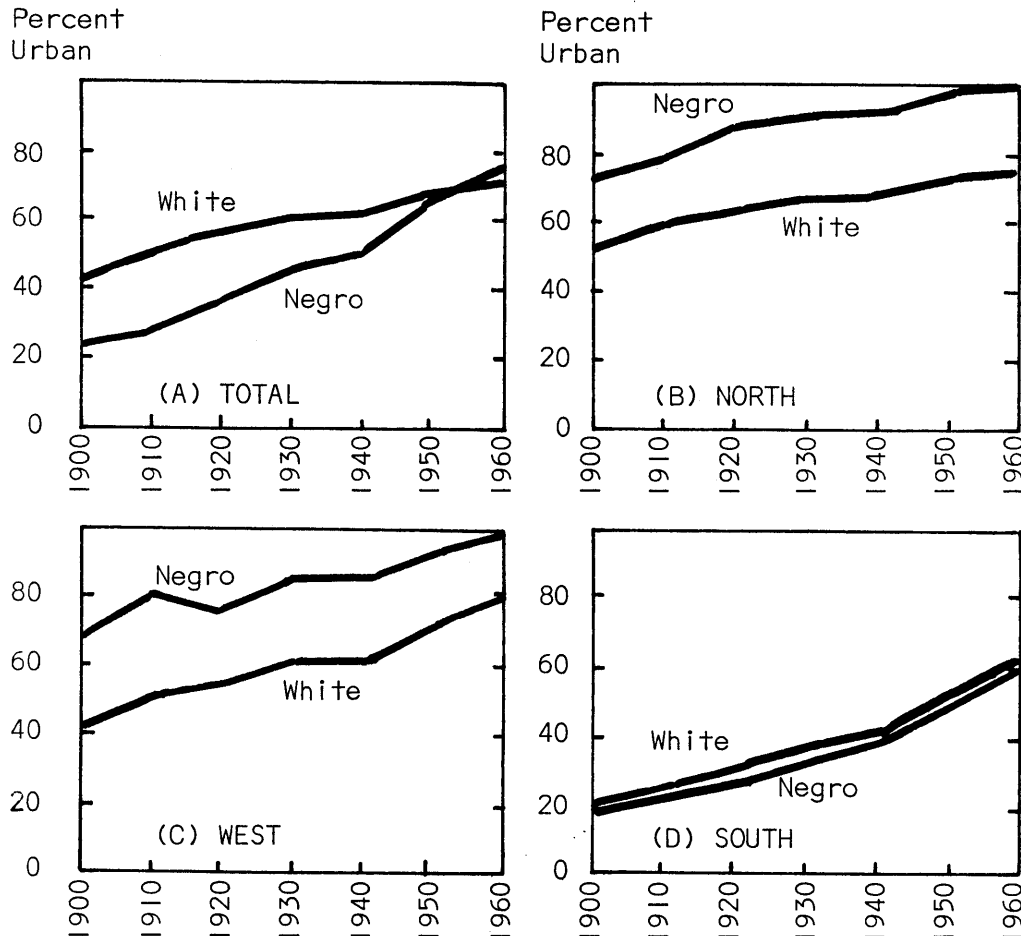
California. [212]

The statistics on net-migration understate the impact that this migration has had upon the redistribution of Negroes in the United States. Many of the migrants have been of childbearing age. Their migration out of the South has therefore tended to reduce the birth rates in the South while increasing the birth rates in other parts of the country. Thus the growth in population resulting from migration was much larger than the migration rates alone would indicate. The Negro population in the South increased less than 30 percent between 1910 and 1960, while it increased about 600 percent in the remainder of the country. The statistics on net-migration out of the South further understate the impact of the migration because while the origin of the migration was dispersed throughout the South, the destination of the migration was often focused upon the urban areas, and particularly the larger metropolitan centers outside the South.



URBANIZATION AND METROPOLITANIZATION OF THE NEGRO AMERICAN

10 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION URBAN, BY RACE AND REGION: 1900-1960



Source: [182, p. 117]

The migration of the Negro from the South to other parts of the nation has in part been the migration from rural areas into urban areas. In 1910, when most Negroes were in the South, 73 percent of the Negro population of the United States lived in rural areas. Fifty years later, 73 percent of the Negro population lived in urban areas. In a period less than the span of a lifetime, the Negro population was transformed from a predominantly rural population to a predominantly urban one. Indeed, since the mid-1950's, Negroes have been more highly urbanized than

the white population of the United States.

The rapid urbanization of the Negro that occurred after 1910 resulted not only from the pull of Northern industries, but also from the push off the land in the South. The boll weevil invaded the Southern cotton areas after 1910, destroying much of the crop and intensifying the already difficult plight of the Negroes in rural areas. "The merchant got half the cotton, the boll weevil got the rest" went a Negro ballad. Severe floods in 1915 and severe erosion and soil depletion in Georgia and South Carolina forced still others off the land. In more recent years the mechanization of agriculture has further reduced the need for Negro labor. In the South exclusive of Texas and Oklahoma, in 1950 only 1 percent of the cotton crop was harvested by machine. By 1960 over half of the cotton crop was harvested by machine, and this trend is continuing. Further mechanization of agriculture and the continuing consolidation of small farms into larger ones offers the prospect that Negroes will continue to migrate from the rural to urban areas. [11]

The pattern of urbanization of the Negro and the relationship between Negro and white urbanization have been different in the South and in the rest of the United States. The process of urbanization in the South has proceeded at about the same pace for Negroes and for whites. Both increased from a little over 20 percent urban in 1910 to nearly 60 percent urban in 1960. In contrast, in the North and West, the Negro has always been more of an urban dweller than the white. Between 1910 and 1960, in the North and West, the percentage of Negroes living in urban areas increased from 77 percent to 95 percent, while the percentage of whites increased from 57 percent to 77 percent. In other

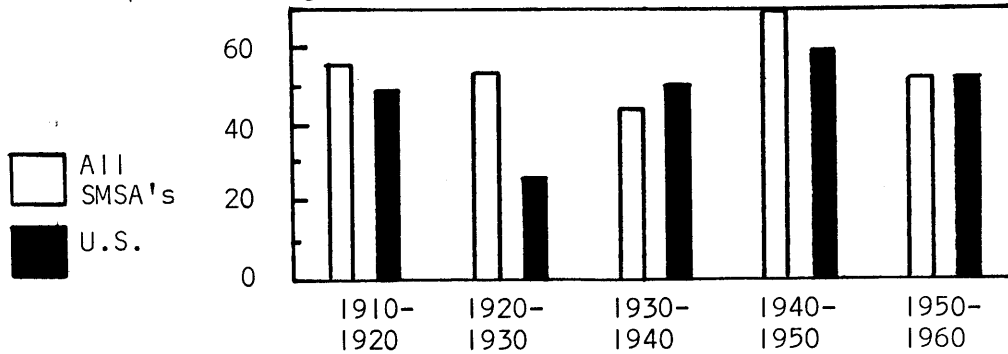
words, in the North and West the white population did not achieve the degree of urbanization the nonwhites had achieved in 1910 until 50 years later, in 1960. [225, p.67]

Most of the urban Negroes are concentrated in the larger urban centers. Nearly nine in ten (89 percent) urban Negroes live in metropolitan areas, and more than a third (35.6 percent) of all urban Negroes live within the twelve largest metropolitan areas. Metropolitanization is certainly a national phenomena evidenced by both white and Negro population growth in the metropolitan areas. However, Negroes are concentrating in the nation's metropolises and their population there is growing at more than twice the rate of the white population. Between 1940 and 1960 the white metropolitan population increased by about 50 percent while the Negro more than doubled. Furthermore, the impact of the metropolitanization of the Negro is unevenly distributed. The impact is concentrated in the largest metropolitan areas. Moreover, it is concentrated within the central cities of these areas.

## II GROWTH AND METROPOLITANIZATION OF THE NEGRO POPULATION: 1910-60

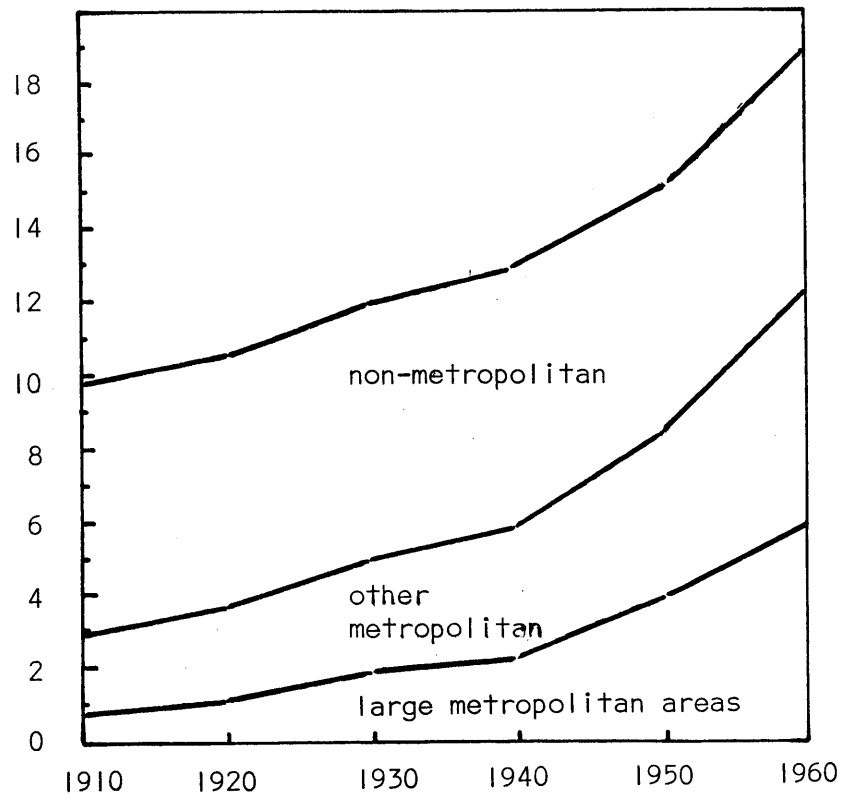
### (A) POPULATION GROWTH IN 12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS AS A PROPORTION OF ALL METROPOLITAN GROWTH AND OF NATIONAL GROWTH

Growth as percent of growth in:



### (B) NEGRO POPULATION GROWTH IN THE 12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS, ALL METROPOLITAN AREAS, AND NON-METROPOLITAN AREAS

Negro population (in millions)



Source: [205, Table 1; 198, p. 756; 199, p. 21]

NEGRO CONCENTRATION AND WHITE DISPERSION IN METROPOLITAN AREAS [205]

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The white population of the United States has been suburbanizing for a number of decades. Since 1920 the white population in the suburbs has been increasing at a faster rate than the population in the central cities. This trend started earlier and is more pronounced in the larger metropolitan areas. In the twelve largest metropolitan areas the suburban white population increased by nearly 18 million between 1910 and 1960. In this same period the center city population increased by a little less than 6 million. Between 1950 and 1960 the population in these center cities actually declined by about 2 million. By 1960 more than half of the white population in these metropolitan areas were living in the suburbs.

In contrast, most of the Negro population growth has been occurring in the central cities of the metropolitan areas. Between 1910 and 1920 the Negro population in the central cities of metropolitan areas increased by 40 percent; between 1920 and 1940, by 83 percent; and between 1940 and 1960, by 123 percent. The rate of growth in the largest cities was even more striking. Between 1940 and 1960 the Negro population in the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas increased by nearly 3 million, or 160 percent. Furthermore, a smaller percentage of Negroes lived in the suburban areas of these metropolitan areas in 1960 than in 1910. Whereas in 1910 about 4 out of 10 Negroes in these 12 metropolises lived in the suburbs, by 1960 less than 2 in 10 were living in the suburbs.

In all the major metropolitan areas the central cities have been receiving a declining proportion of the white population. In most of the major metropolitan areas the suburbs have been receiving a declining

proportion of Negroes. However, there are significant differences between the major metropolitan areas. In Cleveland and Chicago the Negroes are highly concentrated in the central cities. The city of Cleveland contains 97.5 percent of the metropolitan Negroes in contrast with about 40 percent of the metropolitan white population. Chicago contains over 90 percent of the metropolitan Negroes, but less than 50 percent of the metropolitan white population. In Boston nearly a third of the Negro population was living in the suburbs in 1940, but this proportion has been declining steadily, and by 1960 less than one-fifth of the metropolitan Negroes were living in the suburbs. Pittsburgh, San Francisco, and Los Angeles have a substantial proportion of their Negro populations living in the suburbs. In San Francisco the proportion of the Negro population living in the suburbs increased in the 1940's and declined in the 1950's, though in 1960 it remained relatively high, with more than a third of the metropolitan Negroes living outside of San Francisco City. Los Angeles has provided the major exception to the general trend. Between 1940 and 1960 the number and proportion of Negroes living outside the central city has increased steadily from only 11 thousand to about 120,000, from under 15 percent to over 25 percent of the Negroes in the metropolis.

Although the suburbs have generally been receiving a declining proportion of the Negro population, the Negro population growth in the suburbs has nonetheless been substantial in a few of the major metropolitan areas. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population outside the central city increased by nearly 70 thousand in New York and nearly 80 thousand in Los Angeles. However, the suburbs of Cleveland gained only 2 thousand Negroes, those of Boston gained about 3 thousand, and those

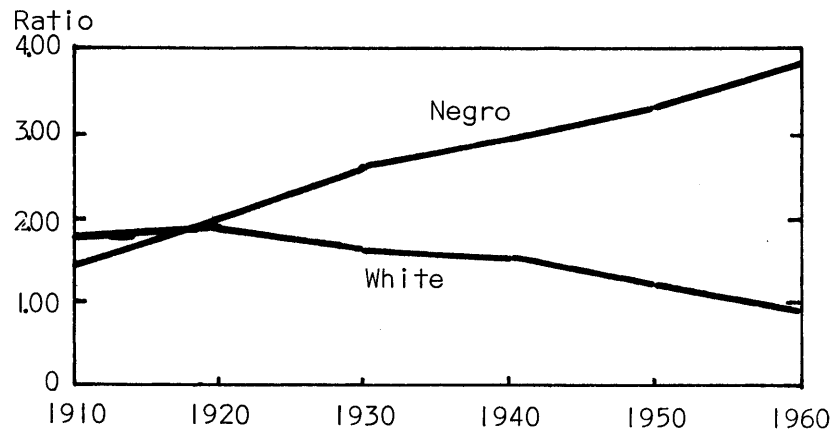
of Baltimore gained 7 thousand. The gains of the other major metropolitan areas fell between these extremes.

The result of the decline of the white population and the increase in the Negro population in the central cities is the rapid increase in the proportion of Negroes in these cities. Thus by 1960 Negroes comprised over a quarter of the population in Cleveland, St. Louis, Detroit, and Philadelphia; over a third of the population of Baltimore; and more than one-half of the population of Washington, D.C.

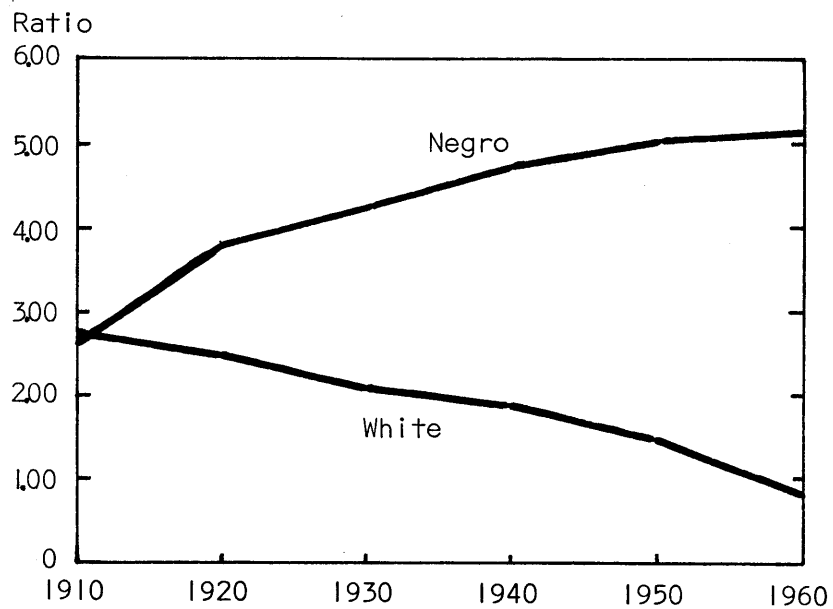
Washington, D.C. provides a particularly vivid example of the changing distribution of the metropolitan populations. In 1900 Negroes comprised about thirty percent of the metropolitan population. Between 1900 and 1920 the proportion of Negroes in the metropolitan area declined to about 25 percent. Since 1920 the proportion has remained at about the 25 percent level. However, although the proportion of Negroes in the metropolitan area has remained constant over the past 40 years, the proportion of Negroes in the central city has increased from about 25 percent in 1920 to about 55 percent in 1960, and about 65 percent in 1965. Thus the rapid growth of the Negro population in the central city does not reflect the rapid urbanization or high birth rates of the Negro population nearly so much as it reflects their concentration within the central city, at a time when the white population is increasingly leaving the central city for the suburbs.

12 METROPOLITAN POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES,  
BY RACE: 1910-1960

(A) RATIO: CENTRAL CITY TO OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY POPULATIONS FOR  
ALL METROPOLITAN AREAS COMBINED



(B) RATIO: CENTRAL CITY TO OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY POPULATIONS FOR  
12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS COMBINED



Source: [205, Table 1]



## SEGREGATION OF THE NEGRO

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Not only are the Negroes largely confined to the central cities in the largest metropolitan areas, but they are also largely confined to Negro areas within these cities. In the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas only a little over 5 percent of the nonwhites live in census tracts that are less than 10 percent nonwhite, whereas over 40 percent live in tracts that are 90 percent or more nonwhite. In the city of Washington, D.C. half of the Negro population live in census tracts that are 90 percent or more Negro. More than one-fourth of the population of the city is thusly confined to about 5 percent of the land area of the city. In Chicago nearly two-thirds of the city Negroes live in tracts that are 90 percent or more Negro. These tracts comprise only 4 percent of the land area in the city. In Manhattan, Baltimore City, and Cleveland City more than half of the Negroes are confined to tracts that are 90 percent or more Negro. Of the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas, only in Boston do more than 10 percent of the Negroes reside in tracts that are less than 10 percent Negro. [225, pp.7-13; 111A-9]

The growth of the Negro population and their concentration within the central cities has created huge ghetto areas. The Manhattan ghetto, a community that is about 98 percent Negro, contains over one-quarter of a million Negroes. Brooklyn also has a large ghetto with a population of over 90 thousand, more than 95 percent Negro. Two ghetto areas in Los Angeles have a combined population of over 60 thousand, more than 96 percent Negro. Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Cleveland have ghetto areas with populations of over 180 thousand, over 140 thousand, and over 115 thousand respectively. They average more than 96

percent Negro. The largest ghettos are in Chicago though. The four ghetto areas of Chicago, all more than 96 percent Negro, contain more than 480 thousand Negroes. [37, p.25] Of the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas only San Francisco and Boston do not have areas that are so solidly Negro. Even in Boston, though, Negroes are effectively excluded from most areas of the city, and in San Francisco only about 6 percent of the Negroes have found their way into census tracts that are less than 10 percent nonwhite.

Segregation is not confined to the large cities. The sociologist Karl Taeuber has chosen an "index of residential segregation" which represents the percentage of nonwhites that would have to shift from one block to another to effect an even, unsegregated distribution. The index was calculated for 207 cities. This study indicated that in 1960:

"...there is a very high degree of segregation of the residences of whites and Negroes. This is true for cities in all regions of the country and for all types of cities -- large and small, industrial and commercial, metropolitan and suburban. It is true whether there are hundreds of thousands of Negro residents, or only a few thousand. Residential segregation prevails regardless of the relative economic status of the white and Negro residents. It occurs regardless of the character of local laws and policies, and regardless of the extent of other forms of segregation or discrimination." [181, pp.35f.]

The study also analyzed changes in the index of segregation.

"Between 1940 and 1950, increases were slight in the Northeast and in the West, moderate in the North Central, and larger in the South. . . . On the other hand, during the 1950-60 decade, cities in every Northern and Western division experienced average decreases in segregation, whereas cities in all of the Southern divisions again experienced average increases in segregation." [181, p.43]

Whether or not segregation is increasing may depend upon how one chooses to measure segregation. Another means of assessing the changes in segregation is to investigate the number and percent of non-

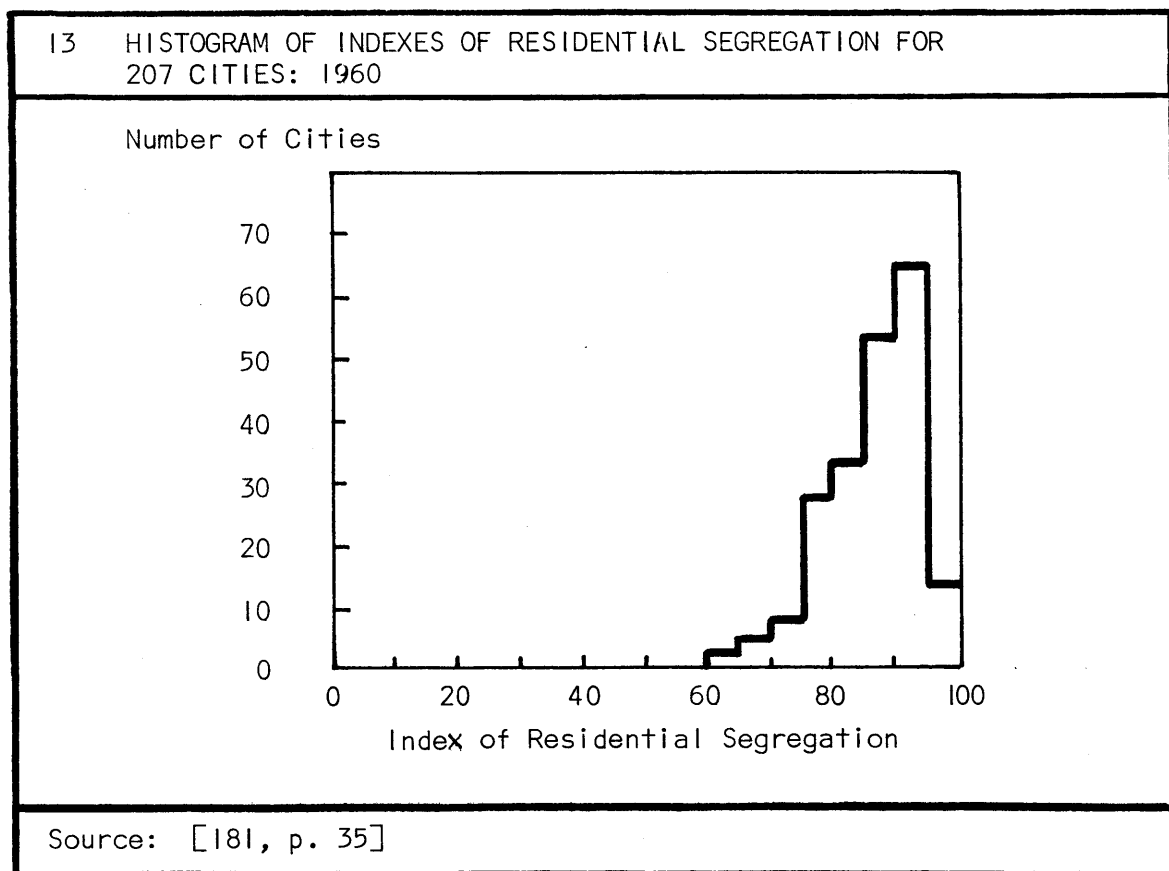
whites living in census tracts that are predominantly nonwhite. Such a measure may provide a more accurate indication of the consequences of segregation. When the central cities of six of the largest metropolitan areas are compared in 1950 and 1960, the number of nonwhites living in predominantly nonwhite census tracts increased. The number living in census tracts that were 75 percent or more nonwhite increased in the decade by over 15 percent in New York; the number in Chicago and Washington, D.C. nearly doubled; in Los Angeles and Philadelphia the number more than doubled; and in San Francisco the number increased more than tenfold. Within these six cities the number of Negroes living in such predominantly nonwhite areas nearly doubled during the decade, increasing from about 1 million to about 2 million -- more than 10 percent of the total Negro population in the United States. [IIIA-9] In terms of sheer numbers, segregation is affecting many more Negroes in the 1960's than it did in the 1950's.

Furthermore, an "escape" from the central city for the Negro does not necessarily mean an escape from segregation. [IIIA-8] For example, between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population in the metropolitan area outside the city of Chicago increased by nearly 80 percent, from 44 thousand to 78 thousand. More than half of this increase resulted from Negroes moving from the center city to the suburban areas. However, more than half of this suburban increase in Negro population occurred in already existing Negro neighborhoods in such industrial suburbs as Evanston, Chicago Heights, Maywood, or Waukegan. More than half of the remaining Negro population increase occurred in "Negro suburbs", "entire communities or separate sections of communities developed expressly for the purpose of providing new suburban housing for Negroes."

[182, p.134] Most of the remaining Negroes moved into already existing, small Negro enclaves. A study by the Chicago Commission on Religion and Race reports that between 1945 and 1963 only 9 nonwhite families were known to have moved into all white residential neighborhoods. The same study suggests some slight improvement in the period since 1963, noting that between 1963 and 1966, 146 nonwhite families moved into 37 previously all white suburbs. [97] When it is remembered that the large ghetto areas of Chicago hold over a half-million Negroes, such a quickening pace of integration in the suburbs can hardly be considered as encouraging.

Chicago is known as one of the most segregated metropolitan areas. Yet suburban Los Angeles, an area that has experienced a large growth of the Negro population in the decade 1950 to 1960 evidences a similar pattern. In the county of Los Angeles in 1960, about 63 thousand Negroes lived in the 67 incorporated cities outside of Los Angeles City. However, almost 95 percent of these Negroes lived in 5 largely segregated cities: Compton, Long Beach, Monrovia, Pasadena, and Santa Monica. In the remaining 62 cities there were fewer than 4 thousand Negroes, comprising 0.20 percent of the population. The city of Los Angeles itself is a large, sprawling city of over 450 square miles, including many communities. Between 1950 and 1960 the Negro population in the Central District of this vast city nearly doubled, increasing by over 150 thousand, whereas outside the Central District it increased by only a little over 12 thousand. Furthermore, nearly 90 percent of these 12 thousand joined other Negroes in the segregated areas of San Pedro, Venice, and Pacoima. In the Valley, the fastest growing section of Los Angeles City, the number of Negroes living outside of the Negro area of

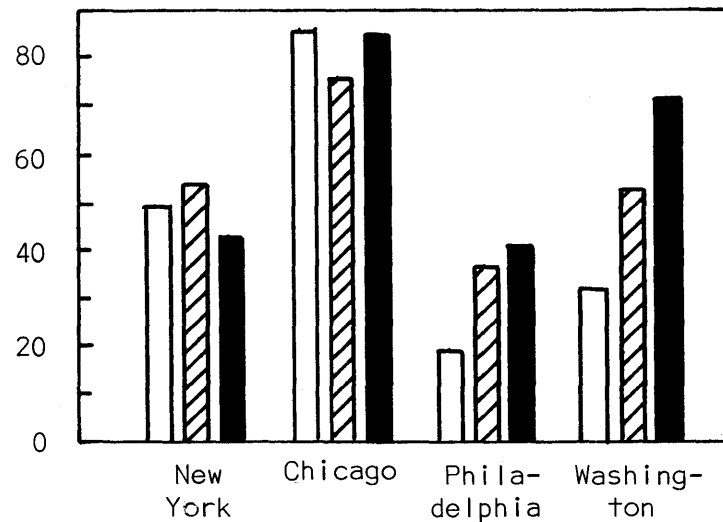
Pacoima actually decreased during the decade. Between 1950 and 1960, 98 percent of the population growth in the city of Los Angeles occurred outside of the Central Area, San Pedro, Venice, and Pacoima. Yet, less than 1 percent of the Negro population growth occurred outside these areas.  
[152, 153]



14 NONWHITES IN SEGREGATED AREAS, SELECT CITIES: 1940-1960

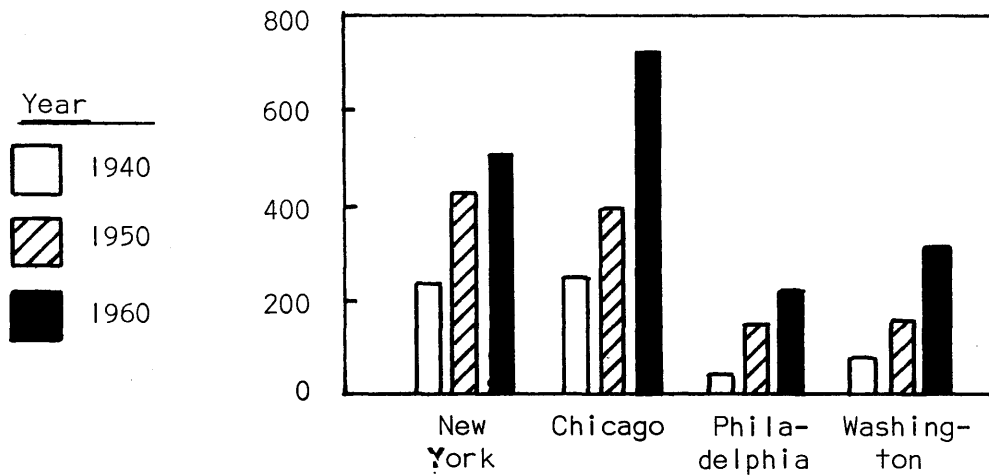
(A) PERCENT OF NONWHITE POPULATION IN CENSUS TRACTS THAT ARE 75 PERCENT OR MORE NONWHITE

Percent of Nonwhite population



(B) NUMBER OF NONWHITES IN CENSUS TRACTS THAT ARE 75 PERCENT OR MORE NONWHITE

Number of Nonwhites (000's)



Source: [111A-9]

## **CHAPTER II**

## **MIGRATION**

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

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America has always been a highly mobile civilization. For decades white Americans have been moving from the South to the North, from the East to the West, from rural to urban areas, and from the central cities to the suburbs. Negroes have also been on the move. They have been moving from the South to the North, and more recently from the East to the West. Above all else, they have been moving into the central cities of the major metropolitan areas. Furthermore they have been moving into a limited number of areas within these central cities. Of the 9 million Negroes added to the population between 1910 and 1960 more than 8 million were accommodated in the center cities of the nation's 212 metropolitan areas. The center cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas accounted for nearly 50 percent of the population growth, increasing their share of the Negro population from less than 2 percent to more than 25 percent of all Negroes in the United States.

Clearly much of the population growth in these cities resulted from the in-migration of Negroes from the rural South. However, the character of Negro migration is changing, and the conventional wisdom and stereotypes of yesterday serve to obscure the nature and consequences of migration today. Recent migration experience indicates:

- The nonwhite population is less mobile than the white population. Although nonwhites are more likely to move, most moves are short distances. Nonwhites are less likely than whites to move to a different county or state.
- The relative importance of migration to the growth of the nonwhite population in the metropolitan areas is diminishing. The



excess of births over deaths now accounts for a larger share of the population increase than does net migration.

- In none of the large metropolitan areas have even half of the nonwhite population been born in the South.\* In many of the metropolitan areas there are Negroes whose families have lived in the areas for many generations.

- Less than half of the in-migrants to the major metropolitan areas arrive from non-metropolitan areas. The stereotype of the urban Negro as a rural in-migrant from the South has little validity today.

- The migrant is on the average younger, better educated, and more likely to be a white-collar worker than the resident of either the area he leaves or the area to which he moves. As a result, the net effect of migration is to lower the socio-economic potential of the area from which the Negro migrates, and to raise the socio-economic potential of the nonwhite community into which he moves. This is not to say that in-migration may not contribute to an increase of low income, poorly educated Negroes, but rather to assert that it also contributes to an increase in the number of well-educated Negroes, and that the net effect is an overall gain in the education and skill level of the host population.

- The in-migrant is more likely than the non-migrant population to live in the suburbs. Those in the central cities are somewhat less likely than non-migrants to be living in the established ghetto areas.

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\* In Washington, D.C. and Baltimore those born in the South would exclude those born in the District or born out-of-state in the case of Baltimore.

THE ORIGINS OF THE URBAN NEGRO IN 1960

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Despite the high rates of Negro migration out of the South during the past 50 years, less than half of the nonwhite residents living in the North and West were born in the South. Furthermore, many who came from the South came from urban areas in the South. In the center cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas nearly 50 percent of the nonwhites were born in the state or region of residence in 1960. Two of these cities are in the South. In Washington, D.C. less than 45 percent were born in the South outside of the District of Columbia, and in Baltimore only about 30 percent were born in the South outside the state of Maryland. Of the remaining 10 cities about 4 in 10 were born in the South. Many of those living in the cities and born outside of the South are children and youth. Yet among the nonwhite males between the ages of 45 and 64 living in the large metropolitan areas in 1960, nearly two-thirds have lived in the same city for at least 20 years. Thus the Negro urban dweller today can hardly be stereotyped as the recent migrant from the rural South. [IIB-1, IIB-2]

Indeed some Negro families have spent many generations in their cities of residence. For example, the Negro community in Boston has had a long and distinguished history. In Boston Common stands a monument to Crispus Attucks, a Negro leader shot in the Boston Massacre of 1770. The Bunker Hill Monument contains the musket of Peter Salem, a Negro who shot and killed the British commanding officer, and was killed himself, during the battle of Bunker Hill. Many Boston Negroes have deeper roots in the city than most of the white community. Reportedly, the first permanent settler where Chicago now stands was French speaking Jean Baptiste Point de Saible, described by a British

officer of that time as "a handsome Negro well educated." [53, Vol. I, p.31] Some years later Chicago was to become one of the terminals of the underground railway, along which thousands of Negroes escaped from the South. Washington, D.C., New York, New Orleans, Baltimore, Philadelphia -- many of the major American cities have had Negro residents from the early years of American history. All of these cities had established Negro communities long before the first waves of migrants arrived from Ireland, Italy, Germany, Poland, and elsewhere.

Certainly, the Negro populations in these cities were comparatively small before the Twentieth Century. In no city were there more than 100 thousand Negroes in 1910, though by 1960 there were 18 such cities. Part of this increase resulted from in-migration, but part occurred through the natural increase of the resident population. While the Negro populations of the major cities were comparatively small, in-migration accounted for a large part of the population increase. But as the Negro populations have grown larger, the resident population, through natural increase, has contributed a larger share to the population growth. It is likely, in the period between 1910 and 1950, that a significant segment of the Negro populations in the major cities were recent migrants from the rural South. However, by 1950, the balance between growth through migration and growth through natural increase seems to have shifted in the major metropolitan areas. In the central cities of the twelve largest metropolises, about 3 out of each 4 new inhabitants between 1940 and 1950 were added through migration. Between 1950 and 1960 the proportion of growth resulting from migration had dropped to less than half. In the 1960's in-migration can be expected to play a substantially smaller role in population growth. [IIIA-4, IVA-4]

Furthermore, in-migrants to the metropolitan centers are increasing from other metropolitan areas. In the early years of the century, when the majority of Negroes lived in rural areas, undoubtedly many of the new arrivals in the major cities came from these areas. However, in recent decades, most Negroes have been living in metropolitan areas. The U.S. Bureau of the Census has collected detailed information on the origins of the in-migrants between 1955 and 1960. These figures indicate that less than 40 percent of the in-migrants to the twelve largest metropolitan areas were from non-metropolitan areas. Most of the migrants into the metropolitan areas today are coming from other metropolitan areas. Many are coming from Southern cities, but an increasingly large share are moving between cities in the North and West.

In all the major metropolitan areas the proportion of population growth resulting from migration in the 1940's was less than in the 1950's, and the proportion of in-migrants from other metropolitan areas was undoubtedly greater in the 1950's than in the 1940's. Nonetheless, important differences remained among the cities. In Detroit, Pittsburgh, and St. Louis the number of in-migrants declined during the 1950's, and in the last half of the decade more Negroes departed from the cities than arrived in them. In contrast, Boston and Los Angeles began the decade with comparatively small Negro populations. Much of their growth -- nearly 60 percent in Boston and 70 percent in Los Angeles -- resulted from migration. However, in Boston less than 30 percent of the in-migrants arrived from non-metropolitan areas, and in Los Angeles less than 25 percent came from the non-metropolitan areas. [IIIA-4, IIIB-2]

There may be a conspicuous minority of Negroes in the major metropolitan areas today who are recent migrants from the rural South.

However they account for a small part of the Negro populations in these cities today, and they will be an even smaller part of the Negro populations in the future. The large majority of Negro families in these cities have had many years, and perhaps generations, of urban experience.

Although migration from the rural South is of rapidly diminishing significance, the migration patterns of the Negro remain of importance. The ebb and flow of the Negro population will be important to the growth of some areas and the decline of others. The characteristics of the movers will affect the types of problems and opportunities that will result from the population movements.

## WHITE AND NONWHITE RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

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Mobility is a characteristic of modern societies. It is not therefore surprising to find that both Negroes and whites are frequent movers in the United States. On the average, between 20 and 25 percent of the population moves each year. The majority of these moves, for Negroes and whites alike, are short distance moves -- changes of residence within the same community (county).\*

Important differences also exist in the moving behavior of the white and nonwhite populations. Recently, about one in four nonwhites and one in five whites move in a year. Although nonwhites are somewhat more likely to change their place of residence in any given year, they are less likely to move long distances. Nearly twice as high a percentage of nonwhites as whites move within the same county each year. Among those who move, whites are about twice as likely as nonwhites to move into a different county or a different state.

Although nonwhites are less likely than whites to move long distances, the net effect of long distance moves is greater for the nonwhite population. The flow of nonwhite migrants between any two points is typically comparatively light, but it is predominantly in one direction. In contrast, the flow of white migrants between two points is ty-

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\* The Bureau of the Census distinguishes between "local movers" as those who move within the same county and "migrants" as those who move between counties. The conditions resulting in local moves are usually quite different from those leading to longer distance moves. The consequences of local moves may also be quite different for the movers and for the community. It is therefore helpful to maintain these distinctions during a discussion of residential mobility. However, it should be noted, in the analysis of the characteristics of migrants into the large Northern metropolitan areas, the definitions have been changed. There, migrants are defined as those from a different state and non-migrants or local movers are those from the same state.

pically heavier, but it is more likely to be balanced so that the flow into any area more nearly equals the flow out of that area. For example, during 1964 the white in-migrants to a region never varied by more than 25 percent from the number of white out-migrants, whereas in no case of interregional migration by nonwhites did the number of in-migrants vary by less than 60 percent from the number of out-migrants. [212]

In the 1950's much of the Negro migration out of the South seemed to follow well defined channels. The major Eastern cities -- Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston -- were receiving most of their Southern immigrants from the South Atlantic States of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Virginia. The North Central cities -- St. Louis, Cleveland, Detroit, and Chicago, were receiving most of their Southern migrants from the East South Central States of Mississippi, Alabama, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Most of the Southern migrants arriving in Los Angeles and San Francisco came from such West South Central states as Texas and Oklahoma. [111B-2]

In recent years Negro migration patterns have tended towards those of the majority white population. The number of long distance movers appears to be increasing, and the flows between points appears to be less one-directional and more complex. Negroes are beginning to follow the white population, moving from the North to the West. [212] Whether or not long distance moves among nonwhites will continue to increase, and continue to be accompanied by an improved balance between in-migration and out-migration within regions remains to be seen. There are indications that it will. The factors that bear on these trends will be discussed below.

## WHY PEOPLE MOVE

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The reasons prompting local movers are quite different from those leading to long distance moves. Dissatisfaction with present housing, or neighborhood, or school system; desire to live closer to relatives or friends; or forced relocation through urban renewal -- these are the types of situations that result in short distance moves. In contrast, the major reason for long distance moves is to improve job opportunity. Housing, community, and family are generally of much less importance.

A survey in 1946 found that more than half of the migrants in the previous year had moved either to take a job or to look for work. [211] A survey in the early 1960's found that among recent migrants, 6 out of 10 migrants mentioned only job-related reasons for moving, and nearly 3 out of 4 mentioned job related reasons in combination with other reasons. [194] Among the job-related moves, those related to unemployment, to transfers and re-assignments within a company, and to obtaining a better or higher paying job were roughly of equal importance. Only about 20 percent of recent moves involved community reasons in some way. Most of these migrants spoke of the positive qualities of the community to which they were moving. Only about 3 percent spoke of the undesirable qualities of the community they had left behind. About one-fifth of the migrants mentioned family reasons for moving. Most of these moves were made to be closer to relatives.

This same survey revealed important differences between Negro and white moving behavior. [195] Negroes were more than twice as likely as whites to want to stay in the area in which they were presently living. About 30 percent of the Negroes, compared to about 45 percent of



the whites, mentioned some disadvantages in remaining in their present community. Among Negroes this was probably not so much a reflection of satisfaction with their community of residence, but rather an expression of fear of the unknown -- of the discrimination that they might face in another, unfamiliar community. It is probably for this reason that relatives play a more important role in facilitating and guiding movement among Negroes. Negroes are much more likely than whites to state the desire to be closer to relatives as their reason for moving. Yet for the Negro, job and family considerations are often inseparable. Relatives are the major source of job information and often help the migrant to find work. Family ties can certainly provide an element of security when moving to another community. This same study concluded:

"Thus it appears that emotional or family ties to a place, or uneasiness about unfamiliar surroundings, are barriers to mobility among the Negro population primarily when economic incentives to move are weak. . . . Having relatives elsewhere may bring better job opportunities to the Negro worker's attention; and at the same time it may lower his reluctance to leave a familiar place or residence. . . . Most likely, the elimination of discrimination would lessen the Negro's uneasiness about finding a job and suitable housing in a new community." [195, pp.20f.]

Fear of discrimination undoubtedly contributes to the comparatively low migration rates of the Negro population. An exploration of the characteristics of movers reveals additional contributing factors.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MIGRANTS AND NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES IN MIGRATION [195]

In the American population as a whole, age, occupation, and education account for a large part of the difference in mobility between individuals. Young people, college graduates, and professionals and managers are much more likely to migrate than are those who do not have these characteristics.

The young are much more likely to migrate than are the old. They are more likely to be looking for a job, to be relocating after discharge from the service or completion of school, or to be moving for such personal considerations as marriage. Within a recent 5 year period over 30 percent of those under 35 migrated, compared to about 10 percent of those 35 years old and over. When considering age alone, the comparative youth of the Negro population should favor higher migration rates among Negroes than whites.

The more education the head of a family has, the more likely he is to migrate. As younger people are generally better educated, it is instructive to compare educational levels for the same age groups. Among males 25 to 29, 55 percent of college graduates migrated between 1955 and 1960, compared to 29 percent of those who completed but did not go beyond high school. A still smaller proportion of those who did not complete high school migrated.\* As 27 percent of white family heads, compared to 12 percent of Negro family heads, have had some college, it might be expected that white families would be more likely to migrate

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\* During the War years there appears to have been a weaker association between education and mobility rates. One study of mobility in the 1940's indicated that those who had not completed elementary school were more mobile than those who had some high school, but were less mobile than those who had completed high school. [19]

than Negro families. It might also be expected that improvements in the levels of education for the Negro will be accompanied by higher rates of Negro migration.

Since education and occupation are closely related, it is not surprising to find that those occupations associated with higher education are also characterized by a higher level of geographic mobility. About half of the men 25 to 29 years of age in professional, technical, and kindred occupations migrated between 1955 and 1960, compared to less than a third of the clerical workers and an even smaller proportion of the blue-collar workers. In a modern economy a substantial share of geographical mobility occurs because people with highly specialized knowledge must be matched with job openings that call for specific knowledge and training. This matching of specialized jobs and people affects primarily professionals, managers, and skilled technical workers. As Negroes are disproportionately concentrated in the lower skilled occupations, it is not surprising to find that they have lower migration rates. Again, as the occupational position of Negro workers improves, it may be expected that Negro migration will increase.

However, only part of the difference between Negro and white migration rates can be attributed to differences in education and occupation. Although among both Negroes and whites higher mobility is associated with higher education and job skills, when Negroes and whites of the same education or occupation are compared, Negroes are still less mobile than the white population. For example, between 1957 and 1962 about 28 percent of white college graduates migrated, compared to only 11 percent of the Negro college graduates. In the same period 30 percent of white professionals and managers migrated, compared to only 8

percent of the Negroes in these occupations.

One impediment to migration by higher status Negroes is their customary dependence upon secondary wage earners. The higher the family income, the more likely are families to depend upon more than one wage earner. In 1959, about 80 percent of nonwhite families with incomes between \$6,000 and \$10,000 and 90 percent of those with incomes over \$10,000 had two or more wage earners. In all income classes, Negro families were more likely than white families to have more than one wage earner. It is more difficult for these families to move, because two or more, rather than just one, must find work in the new location in order to maintain the family income. [124, March 1965, p.156]

However, even when all factors are considered, it is still likely that discrimination accounts, in part, for the persistence of the differences in Negro and white mobility. It is likely that the lowering of the barriers of discrimination will increase Negro migration two ways -- by reducing the disparity between Negro and white migration within specific educational and occupational categories, and by raising the educational levels and job skills of the Negro population.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEGRO MIGRANTS INTO LARGE METROPOLITAN AREAS

The Negro migrants are the younger, the better educated, and the more highly skilled in the population. As a result the South has been losing many of the more able Negroes. Some come North for their education. Some are educated in the South, and then move North for better job opportunities. In the five years, 1955 to 1960, the South lost one-fifth of the nonwhite college educated men between the ages of 25 and 29, but only 6 percent of those with elementary school education migrated out. [225, p.78]

The Negro migrants into the larger metropolitan areas have been, on the average, young and comparatively well educated. In the large Northern metropolitan areas non-migrants between the ages of 17 and 25 accounted for less than 15 percent of the population over 17, whereas among in-migrants those between 17 and 25 were nearly 40 percent of the population 17 and over.\*

When Negro non-migrants and in-migrants in these areas are compared, the in-migrants are better educated than those already in the larger metropolitan areas. In-migrants were nearly 3 times as likely to have had some college education. Slightly more than 50 percent of the in-migrants had not completed high school, compared to about 70 percent of the resident populations in these metropolitan areas.\*\* [IIB-1] While the educational attainment of non-migrants and in-migrants varies con-

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\* Large metropolitan areas are defined as those with populations of greater than 1 million in 1960. Non-migrants are those who were in the same state in 1955 and 1960.

\*\* As the younger members of the population are better educated, at least part of this difference between the non-migrant and in-migrant population can be attributed to their age differences. However, even when in-migrants and non-migrants of similar ages are compared, it appears that in-migrants have more years of schooling. However, the education received in a given number of years is not the same throughout the country.

siderably in different metropolitan areas, in-migrants are better educated than the non-migrants in all of the major metropolitan areas.

[IIIB-4]

Negro in-migrants are more likely to be in the labor force -- both in the armed services and the civilian labor force -- than are Negro non-migrants in the large Northern metropolitan areas. As a consequence of the higher labor force participation rate, a slightly larger proportion of Negro in-migrants are employed than are non-migrant Negroes, even though the unemployment rate for non-migrants is about 12 percent, compared to more than a 15 percent unemployment rate for the in-migrants. [IIB-3] When individual metropolitan areas are compared, there tends to be substantial differences in unemployment rates, though in-migrants are generally more likely to be unemployed than the non-migrants. [IIIB-4]

In the large metropolitan areas Negro in-migrants and non-migrants are about equally likely to be employed in white collar occupations. However, nearly half of in-migrant white collar workers are in professional and kindred occupations. In-migrants are about twice as likely as non-migrants to be professionals, but they are less likely than non-migrants to hold managerial, clerical, and sales jobs. In the blue-collar and service jobs in-migrants and non-migrants are about equally likely to be craftsmen or foremen; in-migrants are less likely to be operatives, and more likely to work as laborers or in household service and other service jobs. However, except for the comparatively large proportion of in-migrants in professional occupations, the occupational differences between non-migrants and in-migrants does not appear to be large. [IIB-2] When non-migrants and in-migrants in the 12 largest

metropolitan areas are compared, there are substantial differences between the individual areas. However, in-migrants are decidedly more likely to be white collar workers than non-migrants in all areas except in New York and Chicago, in which cases non-migrants and in-migrants are about equally likely to be white collar workers. [IIIB-4]

Thus, on the average, the Negro in-migrants must be viewed as assets to the resident Negro community. Their comparative youth and higher educational and skill levels permit the in-migrants to serve as potential resources in the advancement of the Negro population in the major metropolitan areas. However, the comparatively high education levels are not fully reflected in the jobs obtained by the in-migrants, and the income of the in-migrants does not reflect their skill levels. Thus, although in-migrants are better educated and more likely to be employed than are non-migrants, the earnings and family income of in-migrants are substantially lower than that of the non-migrants. [IIB-4, IIB-5] About 45 percent of in-migrants, compared to about 30 percent of the non-migrants, live in families with incomes of less than \$3,000 per year. Whether the comparatively low income of the in-migrants reflects a temporary situation resulting from a brief period of adjustment to a new location and whether the comparatively high educational and skill levels of the in-migrants will serve, in time, to raise the economic levels of the Negro community cannot be predicted with any sense of certainty. However, it is clear that the in-migrants represent a potential resource to the Negro communities of the larger metropolitan areas.

Not only do in-migrants fare rather poorly in earnings and family income, but they are less adequately housed than are the non-migrant populations of the large metropolitan areas. In-migrants are more

likely to be renters; they are more likely to live in overcrowded housing; they are slightly more likely to live in substandard housing; and they are likely to pay a much larger percent of their income for rent than the non-migrant Negro population in these metropolitan areas. [IIB-6]

In earlier periods it was often noted that the Negro migrants to the larger cities located in the slum-ghettoes. [55, 57] Freedman, analyzing Negro migration into Chicago in the period 1935-1940, found that the low status Negroes from the South located in such areas, but that the few migrants from the North and West were not so concentrated in those areas. [70, p.202] The Taeubers have analyzed the location patterns of Negro in-migrants to a number of the larger cities for the period 1955-60.\* They found that the Negro migrants were distributed throughout the cities in much the same manner as the total Negro population, except that the in-migrants were somewhat less likely than the resident population to be living in the core ghetto areas, and the in-migrants were somewhat more likely than the total Negro population to be among the first into areas which were previously all white. [181, pp.144-150]

Nearly three out of four in-migrants to the large Northern metropolitan areas move into the central city. Nevertheless, even though most in-migrants move to the central city, in-migrants are more likely than non-migrants to live in the suburban areas of these metropolitan areas. When individual metropolitan areas are examined, no clear pattern emerges to distinguish between those who move to the suburbs and those who migrate to the central cities. [IIIB-5] In New York, Chi-

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\* The cities studied were Detroit, Cleveland, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, New Orleans, Atlanta, Birmingham, and Memphis.



cago, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh those who moved to the suburbs were similar in educational attainment to those who moved into the central city. In Philadelphia, Boston, and Baltimore those moving into the suburbs were generally better educated. In Los Angeles, Detroit, Washington, D.C. and Cleveland those moving into the central city were, on the average, better educated. The relative occupational status of those moving into the central cities and suburbs provides an equally inconsistent pattern. However, in no city were the in-migrants less likely than the non-migrants to have completed some high school. In the central cities of Boston and Washington, D.C. the in-migrants were somewhat less likely than the non-migrants to be white collar workers, but in the remaining 10 cities the in-migrants were more likely to be white collar workers than the resident population.

There is little reliable data on the characteristics of Negro migrants in previous periods. The best studies exist for the city of Chicago, and many of the assumptions about Negro migrants have been drawn from this data. Freedman, in his study of migration into Chicago between 1935 and 1940 noted that "the Negro migrants of the present period . . . are predominantly persons of low educational status, without capital or financial reserves, unskilled and ready to enter the labor market at the bottom of the occupational ladder." [70, p.210] Otis and Beverly Duncan, in their study of Chicago, noted for the following period: "Improvement in the educational status of Chicago's non-white population between 1940 and 1950 was retarded by the absorption of migrants to the city whose educational attainment was less than that of the population living in the city in 1940." [57, pp.59f.] The Taeubers repeated the Duncan analysis for a number of large cities and concluded

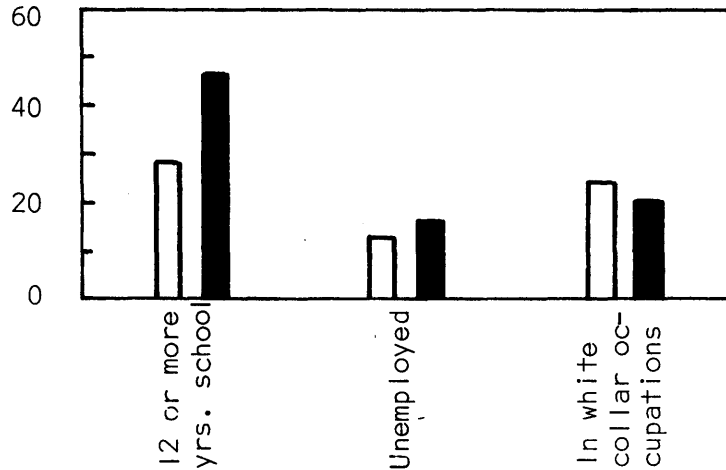
that for the decade 1940 to 1950 the in-migrants were of lower educational status than were the resident population. [181, p.142] There had thus been a significant shift in the characteristics of the nonwhite in-migrants to the major metropolitan areas in recent years.\* Unlike the earlier decades of this century, the recent Negro in-migrants have served to raise the educational and occupational levels of the Negro community. If the stereotype of the Negro in-migrant as uneducated, unskilled, and from the rural South typified a previous period, it is not characteristic of the Negro in-migrant today. If the in-migrant today has difficulty earning a living and finding adequate housing in the major metropolitan areas, it is not because he lacks the educational and job skills and the will to work, for he is better educated and more likely to be working than the non-migrant Negro in these areas today.

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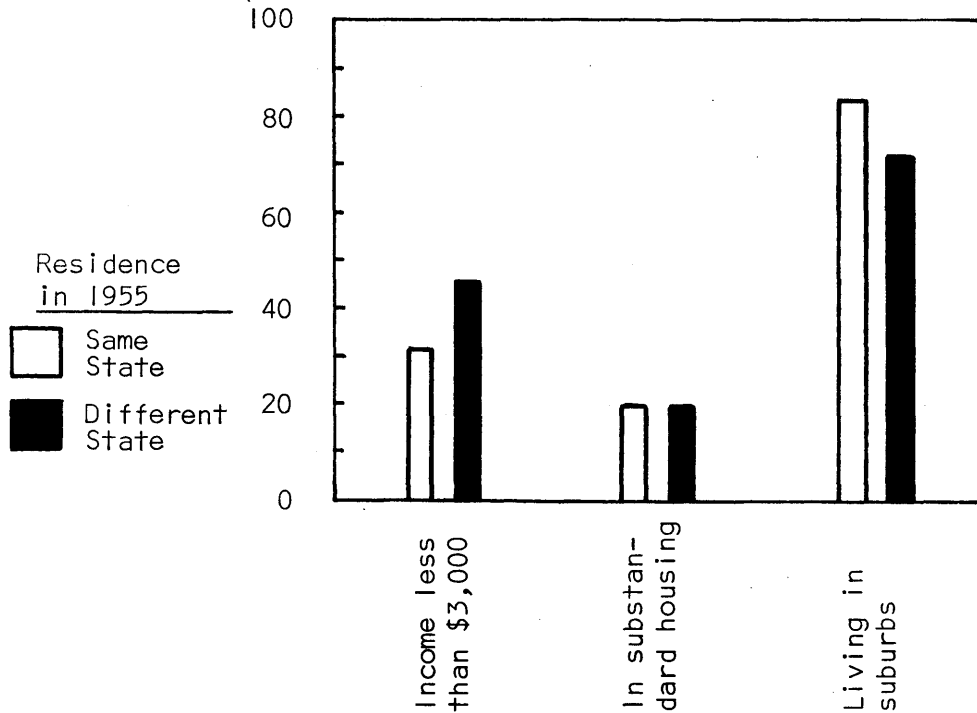
\* A further indication of this shift in the characteristics of migrants is reflected in comparisons between those living in the larger Northern metropolitan area who were born in the state of residence and those born in the South. If the characteristics of in-migrants are changing, and if in-migrants tend to be the younger segment of the population, then one would expect that when those born in the South and living in these larger Northern areas are compared to those born in the state of residence, that the younger in-migrants may be at least as well educated as the non-migrants, but that the older in-migrants from the South would have had fewer years in school than those of similar age born in the North. This is exactly what is found. See the discussion in the following chapter, pp. 93-96.

15 SELECT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, 17 YEARS OLD OR OVER, IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, BY MIGRATION STATUS: 1960

Percent of population



Percent of Population



Sources: [11B-1, 2, 3, 5, 6]

## **CHAPTER III**

### **THE NEGRO IN THE METROPOLIS**

## THE NEGRO IN THE METROPOLIS:

### INTRODUCTION

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For some, the changing character of Negro migration is a cause for optimism. They believe that the difficulties that the Negro experiences in the city are the difficulties of adapting rural ways to the requirements of urban living. They believe that the city is a great "melting pot," and that the longer individuals or ethnic groups live in a city, the better adapted and integrated they become. They believe that with hard work the most recent immigrant group will lift themselves up and join the mainstream of American society, just as the earlier immigrant groups had done.

Such beliefs must indeed be comforting. White Americans are absolved from guilt, for the difficulties of the Negro are nothing more than those experienced by their white predecessors from rural European communities. Furthermore, the present problems will solve themselves in time if only the Negroes apply themselves as previous immigrant groups have done. All that is needed is patience, and hard work by the Negroes, and the urban problems resulting from the growth of the Negro population will disappear.

Recent experience casts doubts upon such comforting beliefs. Whether the major urban areas of America are functioning as the land of opportunity for the American Negro as they have for previous immigrant groups can be examined. The examination will proceed in the following manner.

- First, Negroes living in the major metropolitan areas will be compared to those living in smaller urban and in rural areas on the basis of education, job opportunity, income, and hous-

ing. Such a comparison can reveal if the major metropolitan areas are indeed the land of opportunity for Negroes living elsewhere.

- Second, changes in the education, employment, income, and housing opportunities of Negroes in major metropolitan areas will be analyzed and then compared with changes occurring elsewhere in the United States. Such an analysis will reveal if those residing in the major metropolitan areas advance their levels of living over time, and if they advance their levels of living more rapidly than those living in other areas.

- Third, various segments of the Negro population living in the major metropolitan areas will be compared on the basis of their employment, income, and housing. Such an analysis will uncover whether or not some segments of the Negro population may be advancing at the same time that other segments are remaining stationary or indeed falling behind. It will also indicate whether there is a growing socio-economic cleavage within the Negro population.

- Fourth, the Negroes living in the large Northern metropolitan areas and born in the state of residence will be compared to those who were born in the South and then migrated to these areas. Such a comparison will serve to indicate whether the socio-economic advance of the Negroes in these areas has been retarded by the in-migration of the Southern Negro.

- Finally, whites and nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas will be compared on the basis of education, employment, income, and housing. These comparisons will be extended over time in order to reveal the nature and extent of the gap between Negro and white opportunity and in order to determine whether the gap is

decreasing or increasing.

Such an analysis should clearly reveal whether the city is indeed the great "melting pot" into which ethnic groups enter on the road to full participation in American opportunities and life-ways. Such an analysis should clearly indicate if the move to the major metropolitan areas is a rational move on the road to advancement, and if, once in the metropolitan areas, the course ahead is more likely to be greater isolation from the mainstreams of American society.

NEGROES IN THE MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS AND NEGROES LIVING ELSEWHERE

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Education

In 1960, the average Negro in the South had not completed elementary school. The average Negro in the North, living in areas of less than 500,000 population, though better educated than his Southern counterpart, has also not completed 8 years of schooling. Only in the larger Northern metropolitan areas have more than 50 percent of the Negro population completed 8 or more years of schooling. Only in the Northern metropolitan areas of more than 500,000 population had more than 25 percent of the Negro population completed 12 or more years of schooling.

[IC-1]

Differences in years of schooling are of course reflected in school enrollment data. Whereas the schooling of those over 25 years of age indicates past educational opportunities, the current school enrollment figures give an indication of the situation of nonwhite youth today. Between the ages of 7 and 15, 90 percent or more of Negro youth are enrolled in school. For the ages 16 and 17, the percent drops, indicating that most Negroes, throughout the United States, are getting some high school education, that the majority complete high school, but that a substantial minority still drop out of school before earning a high school diploma. When metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas are compared, the data for 1965 reveals little overall difference. In the former 17 percent of Negroes, age 16 or 17, are not enrolled in school, compared to 16 percent for the latter. However, when the enrollment rate by sex is analyzed, important differences arise. In metropolitan areas females are more likely to remain in school, whereas in non-metropolitan areas the males are more likely to remain. Thus 19 percent of the male



Negroes, ages 16 and 17, in metropolitan areas are not enrolled in school, compared to 12 percent in non-metropolitan areas, and compared to 15 percent of females in metropolitan areas. The highest nonenrollment rates appear to be among Negro males in the urban North and West. [40, pp.452-457]

However, attendance in school and achievement in school are not equivalent. When Negro pupils in the same grades are compared on a number of standardized tests, those in the non-metropolitan South are consistently lowest, and those in the metropolitan North are consistently highest. The differences in performance increase with the number of years in school. By twelfth grade, verbal ability tests reveal Negroes in the metropolitan North to be half a year ahead of those in the metropolitan West, 1 year ahead of those in the metropolitan South and the non-metropolitan North, and nearly 2 years ahead of those in the non-metropolitan South. The same general pattern of performance is also evident on reading comprehension and mathematical achievement tests. [40, pp.218-274]

In order to determine whether or not these differences in achievement reflected differences in ability or differences in educational opportunity, a number of studies have attempted to compare Negro students in northern urban school systems on the basis of their migration status and length of residence in the areas. These studies all found that the earlier a student entered a Northern urban school system and the longer he remained in that school system, the better he performed. Attendance in Northern urban school systems served to raise both the student's I.Q. and his record on achievement tests. [116, 136, 179]

The Negro who moves from the rural area to the metropolis, the Negro who moves from the South to the North, and the Negro who moves from the smaller metropolis to the larger -- each improves his educational opportunity. Although there is a slightly higher drop-out rate among Negro males in Northern urban areas, those who complete high school in those areas are more likely to receive more advanced education. The Northern metropolitan Negro learns more in a given number of years and he is likely to receive more years of education than Negroes living elsewhere.

#### Job Opportunity

Nonwhites in rural areas have lower unemployment rates than nonwhites in urban areas, and nonwhites in the South have lower unemployment rates than those in other regions of the country. Variations in unemployment rates in the major metropolitan areas appear to depend more upon the industrial structure than upon the size of the area. In 1960, unemployment in rural areas was 7.5 percent; in the South, 8 percent; in urban areas, 9 percent; and in the twelve largest metropolitan areas unemployment averaged over 10 percent. However, in these metropolitan areas unemployment varied from a low of 5.5 percent in Washington, D.C. to a high of more than 17 percent in Detroit. [IIID-2]

In metropolitan areas, employment of nonwhites might be regarded as a reasonable risk-taking venture in that while unemployment may be higher, the gains from employment are also higher. The relatively low unemployment in the rural areas and in the South in general reflects the traditional low unemployment in agriculture. However, the work is hard; it requires little skill; it provides few prospects for advancement and it provides little in the way of economic rewards. The rural nonwhite farm family earned only \$1,155 in 1959. Those working

for wages earned an average of only \$5.00 for a day's work. [11, p. 191] Furthermore, those employed in metropolitan areas, and in particular, the largest metropolitan areas, were more likely to be working a full 40 or more hours a week, and they were more likely to have worked 50 or more weeks during the previous year. [1D-3, 1D-4]

Everywhere nonwhites are concentrated in the blue collar and service occupations. Nationally, only about 13 percent of the Negro labor force is employed in white collar jobs, and an additional 27 percent is employed in skilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs. The remaining 60 percent is employed in unskilled jobs or on farms. As is to be expected, white collar, skilled, and semi-skilled workers are much less likely to be found in rural areas than in urban areas, and they are less likely to be in the South than in other regions of the country. The larger metropolitan areas have the largest proportion of the Negro work force in white collar jobs, and the smallest proportion in unskilled jobs. However, the proportion of the Negro labor force in skilled and semi-skilled blue collar jobs is about the same in Northern metropolitan areas of less than 500,000, those 500,000-1,000,000, and those of 1,000,000 or larger. [1D-1]

Thus, for the Negro who is willing to risk unemployment, the move to the larger metropolitan areas provides an opportunity to improve his employment status. He is more likely to find semi-skilled, skilled, and white collar jobs in these areas than elsewhere. Indeed, a recent study has indicated that the move to such areas has contributed to much of the improvement in nonwhite occupational status that has occurred in the past several years. [83]

### Income

Income and employment opportunity are closely related. It is not therefore surprising to find that nonwhite income is highest in those areas with the best employment opportunities. Indeed, income can almost be considered another measure of employment opportunity.

The nonwhite median family income is more than twice as high in urban areas as it is in rural areas. In 1959 nonwhite median family income was \$1,739 in rural areas; \$3,711 in urban areas; \$2,322 for the South; and well over \$4,000 for the remainder of the United States. Another way of looking at the economic advantages of different locations is to compare the proportion of the population who are in poverty and the proportion who are comparatively wealthy. In the South, 63 percent of Negroes live in families with incomes below \$3,000 a year, and only about 1 percent have incomes of \$10,000 a year or more. In contrast, in the North 33 percent of the Negroes live in families with incomes of less than \$3,000 and 6 percent live in families with incomes of \$10,000 or more. However, in the Northern metropolitan areas those living in the larger areas and those in smaller metropolitan areas have similar income distributions, except that those in the larger metropolitan areas are more likely to have incomes of \$10,000 a year or more. Thus economic opportunities are clearly greater in the Northern metropolitan areas than elsewhere, and the opportunities for earning comparatively large incomes appear to be greatest in the largest metropolitan areas. [1E-1]

A better sense of what living with a \$3,000 annual income means can be attained from reviewing what might be a reasonable budget for a nonwhite family of 4: husband, wife, and two school-age children.

item	monthly expenditure
shelter	\$45
utilities	25
clothing	25
personal incidentals	12
household supplies	12
medical supplies	6
school supplies	5
transportation	12
food	108
total	<u>\$250</u>
per year	\$3,000

The nonwhite family which is able to find shelter for \$45 per month is fortunate. Many will be in substandard housing, and many will be overcrowded. Utilities include gas, electricity, and heat. In some areas winter heating costs alone can run \$20 a month. The sum of \$25 is not adequate to include a telephone.\* The clothing allowance should be adequate to get the children to school, but it does not allow any finery. The monthly allotment for incidentals could be used up if the family made two trips to a first run movie house in the month. More likely it will be used in bits and pieces -- a small church donation, a Sunday newspaper, some candy for the children, and a meal out once in a while. Household supplies include a minimum of towels, sheets, cleaning materials, kitchen utensils, and other essentials. The medical allotment includes medical and cosmetic supplies -- aspirin, razor blades, and the like. One serious illness could force the family to far exceed this meagre allowance. The transportation allowance of \$12 per month aver-

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\* Fifty percent of the Negroes, compared to 17 percent of whites in the United States, live in households without a telephone. In the large Northern metropolitan areas Negroes and whites are most likely to have telephones. However, even in these areas 31 percent of Negroes and 11 percent of whites live in households without telephones. [1G-1]

ages 10 cents per person per day. If one member of the family commuted to work, this entire allowance could be easily used up with nothing left over for other types of trips. The food allowance breaks down to 90 cents per person per day, or 30 cents per person per meal. Such an allowance could include small portions of fish, or poultry, or cheap cuts of meat a few times a week; eggs at least twice a week; green and yellow vegetables most of the week. Fats, dried beans, and cereal would have to be used frequently. A family can survive with such an income. Indeed, if meals are carefully planned, adequate levels of nutrition can be maintained. But the family is vulnerable. If housing cannot be found at the necessary cost, food expenditures may have to be reduced. If the family buys furniture, a vacuum cleaner, T.V., or anything else on credit, the high interest rates that the poor often pay could upset the budget. Most of these families will have a television set.\* But if one remembers that if the family went out to dinner and to a movie more than once a month they would exceed their budget, this may not seem to be such an extravagance. Prolonged sickness, temporary unemployment, a necessary and unexpected trip -- any of a multitude of everyday occurrences could bring the family to the brink of disaster. While nonwhites may be economically better off in the major metropolitan areas than elsewhere, it should nonetheless be remembered that nearly one third of the nonwhite families in the major metropolitan areas have incomes of

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\* Only a small segment of the population in the United States live without television. In the United States about 5 percent of whites and 20 percent of Negroes live in households without a television set. Negroes and whites in the larger metropolitan areas are more likely to own television sets. In the large Northern metropolitan areas only 2 percent of the white population and 8 percent of the Negro population are in households without television sets. [IG-1]

\$3,000 a year or less. For some the income may be much less. For others the income may have to support 5, 6, or 8 people, and not just 4. Conditions may be better in the major metropolises, but they are by no means good for many of the nonwhites living there.

### Housing

Although in any given area, wealthier Negroes are more likely to be home owners than poorer Negroes, Negroes are nonetheless more likely to be home owners if they live in the South rather than the North, if they live in non-metropolitan rather than metropolitan areas, and if they live in smaller metropolitan areas rather than larger metropolitan areas. The larger the metropolitan area, the less likely is a Negro family living in that area to be occupying their own home. [IF-1]

Nowhere in the United States is the condition of housing occupied by the nonwhite population adequate. More than 35 percent of the homes and nearly 50 percent of the rental units occupied by the nonwhites in the United States are substandard. However, conditions are much worse in some areas than in others. In rural areas nearly 80 percent of homes and over 90 percent of the rental units are substandard. In contrast, in urban areas about 20 percent of the homes and less than 40 percent of the rental units occupied by nonwhites are substandard. [145, pp.78f.] With all the talk of slum conditions in the largest metropolitan areas, nonwhites are better housed there than elsewhere. In the twelve largest metropolitan areas, the average for substandard homes runs less than 10 percent and for apartments under 25 percent. Furthermore, overcrowding tends to be less in these areas than elsewhere. One study comparing housing conditions in the poorest Negro areas in Chicago, Detroit, and New York to housing conditions in the South found that the majority of

the poorest Negro neighborhoods in these cities had a larger percentage of standard housing and less overcrowding than nonwhite housing in the South as a whole. [142, p.505]

Another important measure of the Negro's ability to obtain adequate housing is the ratio of the cost of housing to family income. It is generally considered that more than 25 percent of income spent for housing is excessive. The lowest rent income ratio is paid by Negro families living in non-metropolitan areas in the South; the highest ratio is paid by Negroes living in metropolitan areas of less than 500,000 in the North and the South. Outside of the Southern non-metropolitan areas lowest rent-income ratios are paid by those living in metropolitan areas of 500,000 to 1,000,000 in the North and those in metropolitan areas of 1,000,000 or more in the North and South. [IF-4]

However, lower income families are more likely to be paying higher rent income ratios, and the Northern metropolitan Negroes have substantially higher incomes than those living in the South. Data are not available to permit comparisons between Negroes with family incomes below \$3,000 a year in metropolitan areas of various sizes in the North, however, when those in the North are compared with those living in the South, it is clear that the low income Northern metropolitan Negroes are paying a substantially larger percent of their income for rent than are those living in the South. [IF-4]

The Negro population, as a whole, living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas do not appear to be paying more for their housing than Negroes living elsewhere, with the exception of those in the non-metropolitan South. However, Negroes in these larger Northern communities appear to be receiving better housing. Although they are less



likely to be home owners, they are more likely to live in standard housing that is not overcrowded. However, when the lower income populations are compared, it appears that those Negroes living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas must pay a substantially larger proportion of their income in order to obtain the better housing in which they live.

#### Infant Mortality [94]

Infant mortality rates are often considered a useful guide to the overall living conditions. The infant mortality rate is clearly related to the socio-economic standing of a community or group. Better housing, better nutrition, better medical services, better education, higher income, and lower unemployment -- all have been associated with lower infant mortality rates.

In the period 1960-1962 the nonwhite infant mortality rate in rural areas was 46.1 deaths per 1,000 live births, compared to 39.8 in urban areas. Data are available for cities rather than metropolitan areas. For the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas the nonwhite infant mortality rate averages a little above 37. Thus, on the average, nonwhites do better in the larger urban centers than they do in smaller urban communities or the rural areas of America. However, there are substantial differences among the various cities. New York and St. Louis are highest, with an infant mortality rate of nearly 42, compared to 27.5 in San Francisco. New York, St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Baltimore -- all have infant mortality rates above that for all urban areas combined. Such high infant mortality rates are somewhat surprising, considering the relative prosperity, educational attainment, and housing conditions in these areas compared to the other urban areas in the United States. These findings serve to remind one that although

many nonwhites do comparatively well in the major metropolitan areas, there nonetheless is a substantial segment of the nonwhite population in these areas who have not managed well.

Summary: the Promised Land

For the nonwhite, the move to the larger metropolitan areas represents a striving for better living conditions and greater opportunity. To recent arrivals, the larger metropolitan areas might indeed be the promised land. Nonwhites in these areas, on the average, receive more and better education, find employment in better jobs, earn higher incomes, and are better housed than nonwhites living elsewhere. Yet such gains have not come easily. While employment opportunities for better jobs may be available in the major metropolitan areas, unemployment is also more widespread there. While better housing is available in these areas, the costs of housing are higher. While the gains are perhaps most clearly reflected in the higher incomes of nonwhites in the large metropolitan areas, the difficulties are clearly reflected in the high infant mortality rates in most of the major metropolitan areas.

Once outside the South, the nonwhite clearly has greater opportunities and lives better in the larger metropolitan areas. However, the differences between those Northern metropolises of 500,000 to 1,000,000 population and those of more than 1,000,000 are not clear and consistent. Negroes in the largest metropolitan areas are somewhat more likely to be unemployed, but those employed are more likely to work full time, and they are more likely to be employed in white collar jobs. However family incomes tend to be slightly higher in metropolitan areas of 500,000 to 1 million than they are in those over 1 million. In the largest metropolitan areas Negroes are less likely to be home owners, but

they are more likely to live in standard housing that is not overcrowded. However, they pay a larger proportion of their income for such housing. In those Northern metropolitan areas of over 500,000 population, opportunities for the Negroes do not appear to increase as metropolitan size increases. However, opportunities in Northern metropolitan areas of 500,000 or more are decidedly better than in smaller metropolitan areas.\*

While the larger Northern metropolitan areas may be the promised land for those moving from the South, from rural areas, and from smaller metropolitan areas, it is also important to find if these larger metropolises remain the promised land for those already there. It is therefore desirable to investigate the gains that the nonwhites have made in these areas during the last decade, between 1950 and 1960.

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\* This finding is contrary to popular opinion, as indicated recently in a Gallop Poll. The poll question was: "Do you think that Negro families who live in smaller towns and cities of the North have a better life than Negro families living in the biggest cities, or a worse life?" Seven in ten Northern whites believed that Negroes lived better in small towns and cities and Negroes agreed, by a margin of 3-to-1. [22, August 17, 1966] Nevertheless, Negro migration has been more rationally guided than such opinion indicates, for the Negro population in the larger metropolitan areas has been increasing more rapidly than in the smaller ones.

## NEGRO ADVANCES SINCE 1950

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### Education

Within the 12 largest metropolitan areas, only 23 percent of the nonwhite population over 24 years old had completed high school in 1950. By 1960, 30 percent of the nonwhite population had completed high school. However, the gains in educational opportunity were much larger than these percentages indicate, for they include those who had left school 10, 20, and 30 years ago. Most of the nonwhite population who passed through the school system in the decade 1950-1960 completed high school, whereas most who had lived in these metropolitan areas in an earlier period did not complete, or perhaps even attend, high school. These improvements occurred not only in the major metropolitan areas, but throughout the nation. [225, p.195; IIB-1]

The gains in higher education are more difficult to estimate. Data are available for the educational attainment of the nonwhite population by place of residence. However, particularly for college graduates, the place of residence in 1960 may provide a poor indication of the place where they received their college education in the preceding years. However, irrespective of place of residence, it is clear that the proportion of the nonwhite population completing college during the 1950's increased over previous decades, but remained a small percentage of the total nonwhite population. The number of college graduates doubled between 1950 and 1960, increasing from 3 percent to 4 percent of the nonwhite population.[IIIC-1] However, while the major metropolitan areas continue to hold more than their share of nonwhite college graduates, relative to the population, they lost some of their dominance in the period following 1950. While 63 percent of the nonwhite popula-

tion increase between 1950 and 1960 occurred in these areas, only 42 percent of the increase in nonwhite college graduates resided in these areas in 1960.

Fewer than 1,000 Negroes in the United States had ever attained doctorates in all the years before 1950. Between 1950 and 1960 more than 1,000 earned their doctorates. However, more than 60 percent of these doctorates were earned in Negro colleges, primarily in the South. In this decade only a little over 400 Negroes earned doctorates in integrated colleges. [20, p. 564] Thus the number of doctorates awarded to Negroes in the major metropolitan areas must certainly have remained small during the 1950's. Negroes are increasingly entering the highest realms of academic education, but the pace of entry is extremely slow.

In summary, nonwhite educational opportunities have increased between 1950 and 1960. Most nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas are now completing high school, and a larger and larger proportion are completing more advanced studies. However, although in 1960 educational opportunities are generally better in the major metropolitan areas, they appear to be improving more rapidly in the rest of the nation.

#### Job Opportunity [IIID-1]

Nonwhite unemployment continues to be higher in the major metropolitan areas than in the nation as a whole, but the differences are declining. In fact, whereas the national rates of nonwhite unemployment were higher in 1960 than in 1950, the average unemployment rate for the 12 largest metropolitan areas was lower in 1960 than in 1950. [IIID-2]

Job opportunities increased in the major metropolitan areas during this decade. Indeed, all of the jobs added to the male nonwhite

labor force between 1950 and 1960, for the country as a whole, can be accounted for within the 12 largest metropolitan areas. Not only were jobs for nonwhites being created, but higher skilled occupational opportunities were opening up. The number of nonwhite male professional, technical, and kindred workers more than doubled during the decade, and the major metropolitan areas increased their share of the national distribution of nonwhites in these jobs from 34 percent in 1950 to 41 percent in 1960. These jobs still represented a small part of the male, nonwhite labor force, though the share increased from about 3 percent in 1950 to 5 percent in 1960. Most of the job openings that nonwhites were filling were in the fields of social welfare, recreation, religion, and education. However, in this decade nonwhites entered many scientific, engineering, and other fields for the first time.

The number of nonwhite managers and proprietors remain few. In the major metropolitan areas their numbers increased by 6 percent, and their share in the total nonwhite male labor force declined from 3.7 percent in 1950 to less than 3 percent in 1960. Nonetheless, in 1960 the 12 largest metropolitan areas held over 40 percent of the managers and proprietors and 30 percent of the increase in their number between 1950 and 1960 occurred in these areas.

Clerical and sales jobs continued to open up. The number of such jobs held by nonwhites in the 12 largest metropolitan areas increased by nearly 60 percent in the decade of the 50's. Most nonwhite clerical and sales jobs were in the major metropolitan areas. In 1960, 56 percent of the clerical and sales jobs held by nonwhites were in these areas, and more than 50 percent in the increase, nationally, in these jobs between 1950 and 1960 occurred in these 12 metropolitan areas.

In the 12 largest metropolitan areas male white collar workers increased by nearly 60 percent, from 158 thousand in 1950 to 248 thousand in 1960. However, white collar workers remained a relatively small part of the male nonwhite labor force, increasing from a little over 16 percent in 1950 to 19 percent in 1960. Most jobs were still held by skilled and semi-skilled workers, laborers, and service workers. In the decade of the 1950's male nonwhite craftsmen and foremen in the major metropolitan areas increased by over 40 percent, operatives increased by over 30 percent, and laborers and service workers increased in the same general order of magnitude. However, the proportion of the nonwhite labor force in these various blue collar and service job categories declined in the 1950's. The major metropolitan areas do not play as important a role in blue collar job opportunities as they do in white collar. Skilled and semi-skilled workers are only slightly more concentrated in the major metropolitan areas than they are in the remainder of the United States. Between 1950 and 1960 over 40 percent of the increase in the number of nonwhite operatives and service workers (excluding private household) occurred in the 12 largest metropolitan areas. Only about 10 percent of the gain in nonwhite craftsmen and foremen occurred in these areas during that period. The nonwhite gains as craftsmen and foremen were largely made in the 1940's in the war industries in the major metropolitan areas. Nonwhites elsewhere were catching up during the 1950's.

In the decade of the 50's nonwhite job opportunities were being filled more rapidly in the major metropolises than elsewhere. In fact, while the male nonwhite labor force increased by 35 percent in the 12 largest metropolitan areas, it actually declined slightly in the remainder of the United States. It also appears that the major metropoli-

tan areas are where nonwhites first enter into new occupations. Much of the occupational advances that the nonwhites made during that period was made in the major metropolitan areas.

### Income

For the twelve largest metropolitan areas, the average median income of nonwhite persons with income was \$1,724 in 1949.\* By 1959 the median income had increased to \$2,435, or by more than 40 percent. The proportion of those with incomes below \$3,000 declined from more than 85 percent in 1949 to less than 60 percent in 1959, though their number increased slightly. The proportion of those with incomes of \$6,000 or more increased from 0.6 percent to over 6 percent between 1949 and 1959. If an income of \$6,000 could be considered sufficient for entry into the middle class, then the number of nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas who had achieved middle class, though they remained few, increased by more than sixteen fold during the decade. The 12 major metropolitan areas increased their share of U.S. nonwhites with incomes above \$6,000 from about 45 percent in 1949 to more than 60 percent in 1959. Nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas were more than three times as likely to have incomes of \$6,000 or more than nonwhites living elsewhere in the United States. Nonwhite incomes, even in 1959, were not particularly high in the major metropolitan areas, but clearly they were higher than elsewhere, and many of the gains in nonwhite income between 1949 and 1959

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\* It should be noted that these income figures are for persons with income, whereas some of the early income figures cited were for family income. Family income provides a better index of living conditions for the nonwhite. However, data for nonwhite income in metropolitan areas in 1949 were not available for families. Therefore, in order to measure the changes that occurred between 1949 and 1959, income of persons was used. Family income might be expected to be higher than personal income.



occurred in these areas. Compared to elsewhere, the major metropolitan areas appear to be the land of economic opportunity for the nonwhite.

[IIIE-1]

### Housing

Between 1950 and 1960 the condition of housing occupied by the nonwhite population in the major metropolitan areas improved substantially. The percentage of substandard owner occupied units declined from about 18 percent to about 10 percent, and the percentage of substandard rental units occupied by the nonwhite population declined from 46 percent to 23 percent. [IIIF-3] Housing improved even more than these figures indicate. Generally, home owners are better housed than are renters, and the number of nonwhite home owners in the major metropolitan areas more than doubled in the decade 1950 to 1960. The increase in home ownership ranged from a low of 83 percent in Chicago to a high of over 170 percent in the San Francisco metropolitan area. [IIIF-1]

However, these improvements in housing quality were not inexpensive. Special tabulations have been made by the Bureau of the Census for 1950 and 1960 for 5 of the larger metropolitan areas: New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Detroit, and St. Louis. The increase in rents, for nonwhites, in the 5 metropolitan areas ranged from a low of about 60 percent to a high of over 100 percent. Part of this increase reflects the higher incomes of the nonwhite population in 1960. But housing costs increased more rapidly than income, and when nonwhites of the same incomes are compared in 1950 and 1960 there have been large increases in the cost of housing within all income groups. [IIIF-5] The condition of housing for the nonwhites improved substantially during the decade of the 1950's but these improvements resulted in a substantial increase in

the cost of housing.

Whether or not the condition of housing has continued to improve in the decade of the 1960's is open to question. A study by Mayor John Lindsay's Housing and Urban Renewal Task Force showed that between 1960 and 1965 the number of unsound housing units in New York City increased from 420,000 to over 520,000 while the median rent/income ratio also rose. [Cited in 85, p.5] The only Census study since 1960 has been in Los Angeles. There the census reveals that among Negroes in South Los Angeles the number of units that were unsound increased, between 1960 and 1965, from 18 percent to more than 30 percent and that during the same period the median cost of homes increased from \$11,300 to \$15,000 and the median gross rent increased from \$70 to \$79. [213, pp.56f.] In other words, on the basis of the limited data available, it is likely that since 1960 the condition of housing occupied by Negroes has become worse while at the same time the cost of housing has continued to increase.

Summary: the Promised Land?

If the major metropolitan areas were the promised land for immigrants from other areas, they were perhaps less of the promised land for those living there for some time. Between 1950 and 1960 there were important gains in the number and percent of nonwhites who were completing high school. However, gains were slow at more advanced levels of education. Unemployment remained high during these years. Yet the nonwhite labor force increased greatly during this period, and a larger proportion than ever before moved into the white collar world. Improved employment opportunity was well reflected in the increases in income that occurred during this decade, and, at least by income measures, the rapid growth

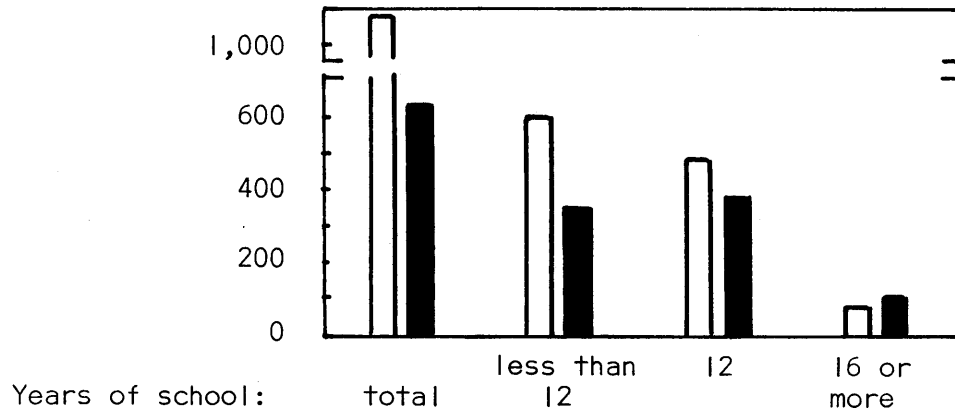
of the nonwhite middle class. The condition of nonwhite housing also improved greatly during this period, and nonwhite home owners became much more prevalent.

Thus the conditions of life for the nonwhite population as a whole improved during this period. Whether or not it improved for all segments of the nonwhite population is a matter for investigation. It is possible that the gains were evenly distributed throughout the population. It is also possible that the "rich got richer" and the "poor got poorer."

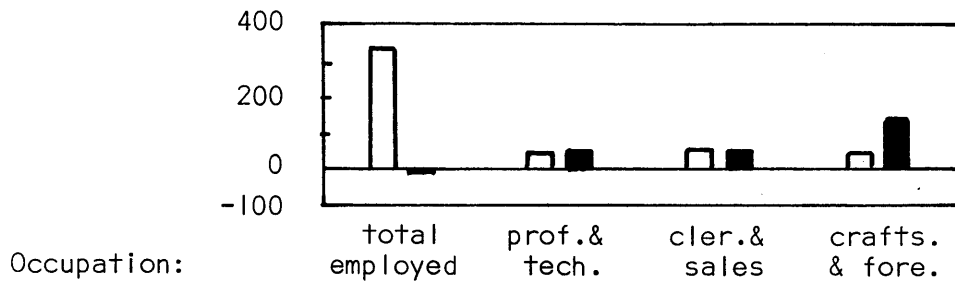
16 CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF THE NONWHITE POPULATION  
IN THE 12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS AND ELSEWHERE: 1950-1960

(A) YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY POPULATION 25 YEARS OLD OR MORE

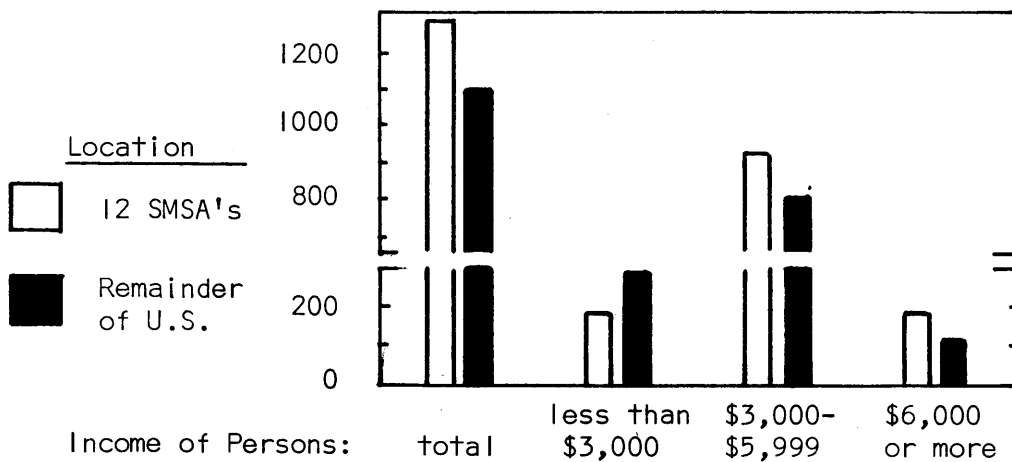
Change: 1950-1960 (000's)



(B) EMPLOYED MALES IN SELECT OCCUPATIONS



(C) INCOME OF PERSONS WITH INCOME



Sources: [200, 201]

WHO IS ADVANCING: UPPER AND LOWER SEGMENTS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION

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Education

The educational attainment of the lower segment and the upper segment of the nonwhite population in the 12 largest metropolitan areas improved in the decade 1950 to 1960. However, in some metropolitan areas the lower segment advanced more rapidly, while in other areas the upper segment increased more rapidly. The gap in educational attainment between the lower and upper segments of the nonwhite population widened in Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Detroit while it narrowed in New York, Los Angeles, and a number of other major metropolitan areas. [IIIC-2]

Employment [IIID-1]

If one looks again at the changes in the nonwhite labor force between 1950 and 1960, one discovers that the importance of managers, officials, proprietors, and semi-skilled workers declined. Those who would have been managers, officials, or proprietors in 1960 if these jobs had maintained the proportional representation in the labor force, were more likely clerks, or perhaps professionals or technicians. The proportion of nonwhites in white collar occupations increased in all the major metropolitan areas in the decade.

On the other hand, the relative loss of importance in semi-skilled jobs was important. In part this decline could be interpreted as representing an up-grading of the nonwhite labor force. In part, it must also be interpreted as declining job opportunity in these areas. Some who would have held semi-skilled jobs in 1960, if these jobs had maintained their importance in the job market, undoubtedly became skilled craftsmen or white collar workers. However, many joined the ranks of the

unemployed. Others found employment as laborers and household workers. The proportion of the nonwhite labor force working as laborers or in private household or other service jobs actually increased in a number of metropolitan areas between 1950 and 1960.

Thus, for those better prepared, or perhaps merely more fortunate, white collar employment opportunities opened up during the decade 1950 to 1960. However, for those less fortunate, semi-skilled jobs declined in importance, and many who could have worked in such jobs found difficulties in locating other jobs.

#### Income

Instead of calculating the median income for the nonwhite population as a whole, it is possible to calculate the median income for the lower half and the upper half of the population. When such calculations are performed, it is found that, as the average for the 12 largest metropolitan areas, the median income of the lower half increased from \$870 in 1949 to \$1,083 in 1959, while the median income for the upper half increased from \$2,503 to \$4,059 during this same period. In other words, while the median income of the lower half of the nonwhite population with income increased only a little over \$200, the median income of the upper half increased over \$1,500, or by more than seven times as much. Furthermore, this same general pattern of widening income disparities prevailed in all of the 12 largest metropolitan areas. [IIIE-1]

This finding is extremely important for two reasons. On the one hand it indicates a widening class cleavage within the nonwhite population. On the other hand, it indicates that the poorer segment of the nonwhite population made little progress, at least in the major metropolitan areas, during the decade 1950 to 1960.

In terms of changes in the standard of living, the disparity between the lower half and upper half of the nonwhite population is even more sharp. In terms of purchasing power, \$1.00 in 1949 was worth only \$.81 in 1959. When the nonwhite incomes are adjusted to reflect changes in purchasing power, the median income of the lower half of the nonwhite population increased by only \$7.00, while the median income of the upper half increased by \$785, or more than one hundred times as much.

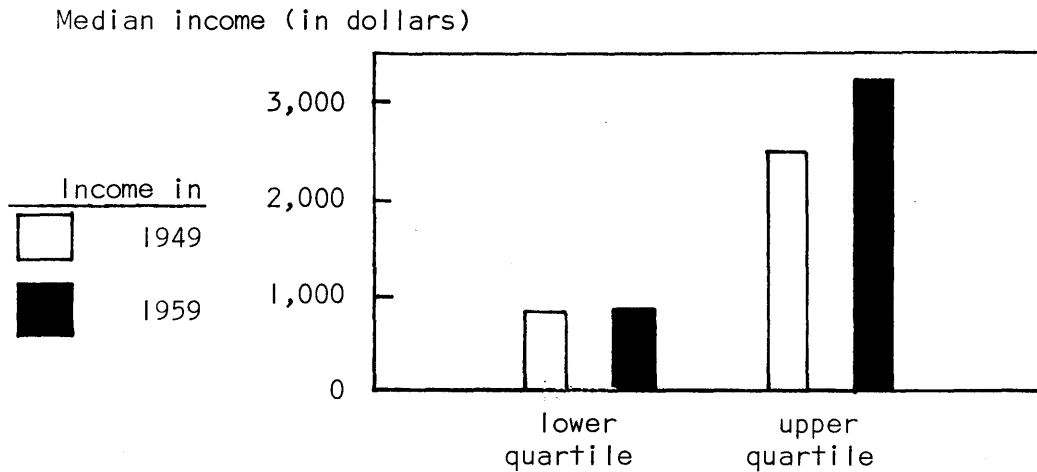
Two special census taken in 1965 indicate that the polarization of the Negro community is continuing and that the poorer segments of the population are making little or no progress. In Cleveland the U.S. Bureau of the Census identified 6 areas in which most of the Negro poor were concentrated. [214] In these six areas the median income of the Negro families increased from \$4,953 to \$5,085 between 1959 and 1964.\* In four of these six areas the median family incomes actually declined. In Hough, perhaps the best known ghetto area -- the one that exploded in the summer of 1965 -- the median family income declined from \$4,732 to \$3,966 between 1959 and 1964. In contrast, the median family income of Negroes living outside of these areas increased from \$6,178 to \$7,285, or by more than \$1,000, during this same period.\*\* The Census survey of South Los Angeles indicates similar changes occurred in Los Angeles in the period since 1960. [213] Both of these studies indi-

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\* In constant 1964 dollars

\*\* Some of this change may have resulted from more prosperous Negroes moving from the low income to higher income areas. This possibility is supported by the decline in population in the low income areas and the increase in higher income areas. Consequently the above figures probably reflect both changes in family income and changes in residential patterns.

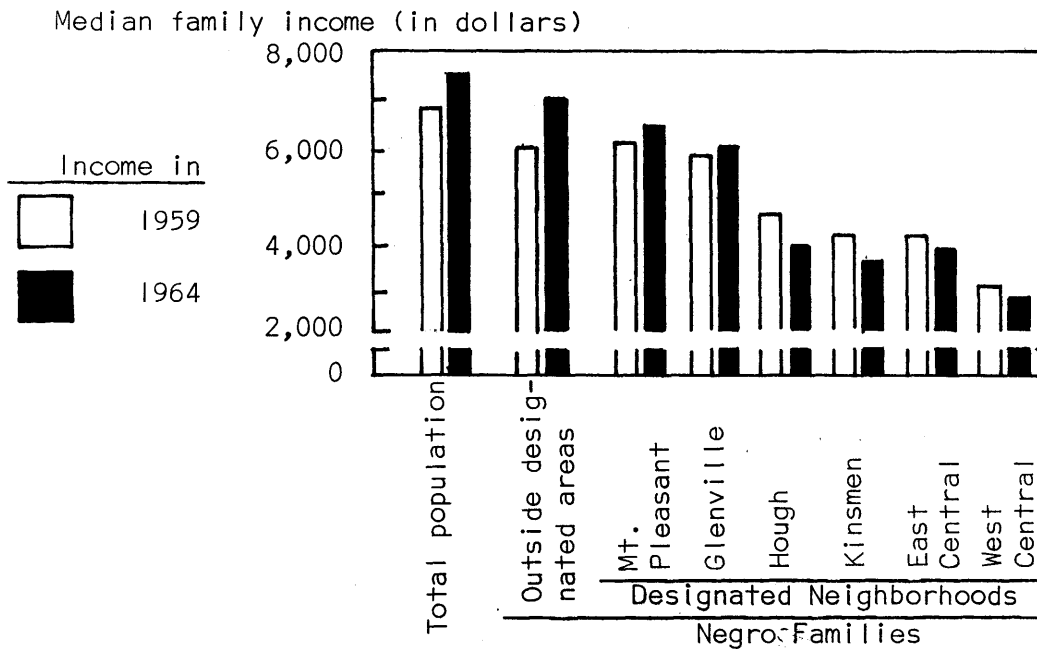
17 MEDIAN INCOME OF NONWHITE PERSONS WITH INCOME: AVERAGE FOR THE UPPER AND LOWER SEGMENTS OF THE POPULATION IN THE 12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS: 1950 AND 1960



Note: Constant 1950 dollars

Source: [IIIE-I]

MEDIAN FAMILY INCOME OF NEGROES IN SELECT NEIGHBORHOODS IN CLEVELAND: 1960 and 1965



Note: Constant 1964 dollars

Source: [214, Table A]



cate that it is likely that, although some Negroes have been making rapid economic advances, the vast majority of Negroes have made little or no economic progress and, indeed, that the poorer segment of the Negro population may be poorer in the later part of the 1960's than they were at the beginning of the decade.

### Housing

The condition of housing improved for all groups, though, as would be expected, poorer nonwhites continued to be more likely to live in substandard housing than those with higher income. Perhaps more important than changes in the quality of housing were changes in the cost of housing. To a large extent, the reduction in substandard housing units between 1950 and 1960 resulted from the destruction of some units and the rehabilitation of others. In the one case, part of the substandard housing supply was simply eliminated; in the other case it was improved. However, improvements usually resulted in higher housing costs. It should not therefore be surprising that housing costs increased more rapidly for the lower income nonwhites than for higher income nonwhites during this period. These increases placed a greatly increased burden upon the lower income groups. For example, for households with incomes between \$2,000 and \$3,000, rents nearly doubled in St. Louis, increasing from \$31 to \$56 per month between 1950 and 1960. In Chicago, rents for nonwhite families with incomes between \$2,000 and \$3,000 increased from \$44 in 1950 to \$80 in 1960. [IIIF-5] Thus, the poor Negro, the one least able to bear increased housing costs, is the one who has experienced the greatest increase in those costs. By 1960, more than 80 percent of the Negro households in the largest Northern metropolitan areas were paying an excessive proportion (more than 25%) of

their income for rent. [IF-4]

### Socio-economic Segregation within the Negro Community

The constraints upon housing choice for Negro families has led to the tendency for poorer and wealthier Negroes to be living near each other, within the confines of the ghetto. Nevertheless, those familiar with the internal structures of the ghettos are usually able to identify the poorer and better areas within. Karl and Alma Taeuber have attempted to measure the degree of socio-economic segregation of Negroes in a number of cities and to identify trends in socio-economic segregation within the nonwhite community. They have used occupation as the measure of socio-economic status. They found that Negro residential areas are becoming increasingly stratified -- that is, that the lower status Negroes are becoming increasingly isolated from the higher status Negroes. These changes were most pronounced among those in white collar occupations who were becoming increasingly separated from each other and from those in blue collar occupations. Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and laborers within the blue collar occupations did not increase their separation from each other to any substantial degree during this period. Thus the widening gulf within the Negro population, evidenced in the income data, is also expressed in the changing patterns of residential location. [181, pp.180-184]

### The Two Worlds of the Metropolitan Nonwhite

It is now possible to tentatively construct a picture of what happened to the nonwhite population in the major metropolitan areas during the decade 1950 to 1960. It is likely that the general progress that was noted by the aggregate figures concealed the possibility that only a

part of the nonwhite population shared in this progress.

It now appears that job opportunities were opening up for the upper segment of the nonwhite population. A number of nonwhites moved into white collar jobs, and the improvement in job status was reflected in the rising incomes of the upper half of the nonwhite population. Furthermore, housing improved for the upper segment. Many became home owners for the first time, and many others moved from substandard housing into standard housing.

For the lower segment of the population, the situation appears quite different. They were caught in an economy where many blue collar jobs were being rendered unnecessary through technological innovation. Some managed to move into higher skill jobs, but many appear to have been caught between unemployment and moving into perhaps a lower skilled job than they had previously. This is reflected in the extremely small gains in income that the lower segment of the nonwhite population made during the decade. Furthermore, while their housing improved, rents increased much more rapidly than income. As a result it is likely that the lower segment of the population, paying more for shelter while receiving little additional income, may actually have been economically worse off in 1960 than in 1950.

It is impossible to determine whether the lower segment of the nonwhite population represented the same families in 1950 as in 1960. It is possible that some families who were better off declined in their fortunes. It is also possible that some of the lower income families in 1950 moved upward, and that their place was taken by new in-migrants. However, it must be remembered that the in-migrants, on the average, were better educated and possessed more job skills than the resident

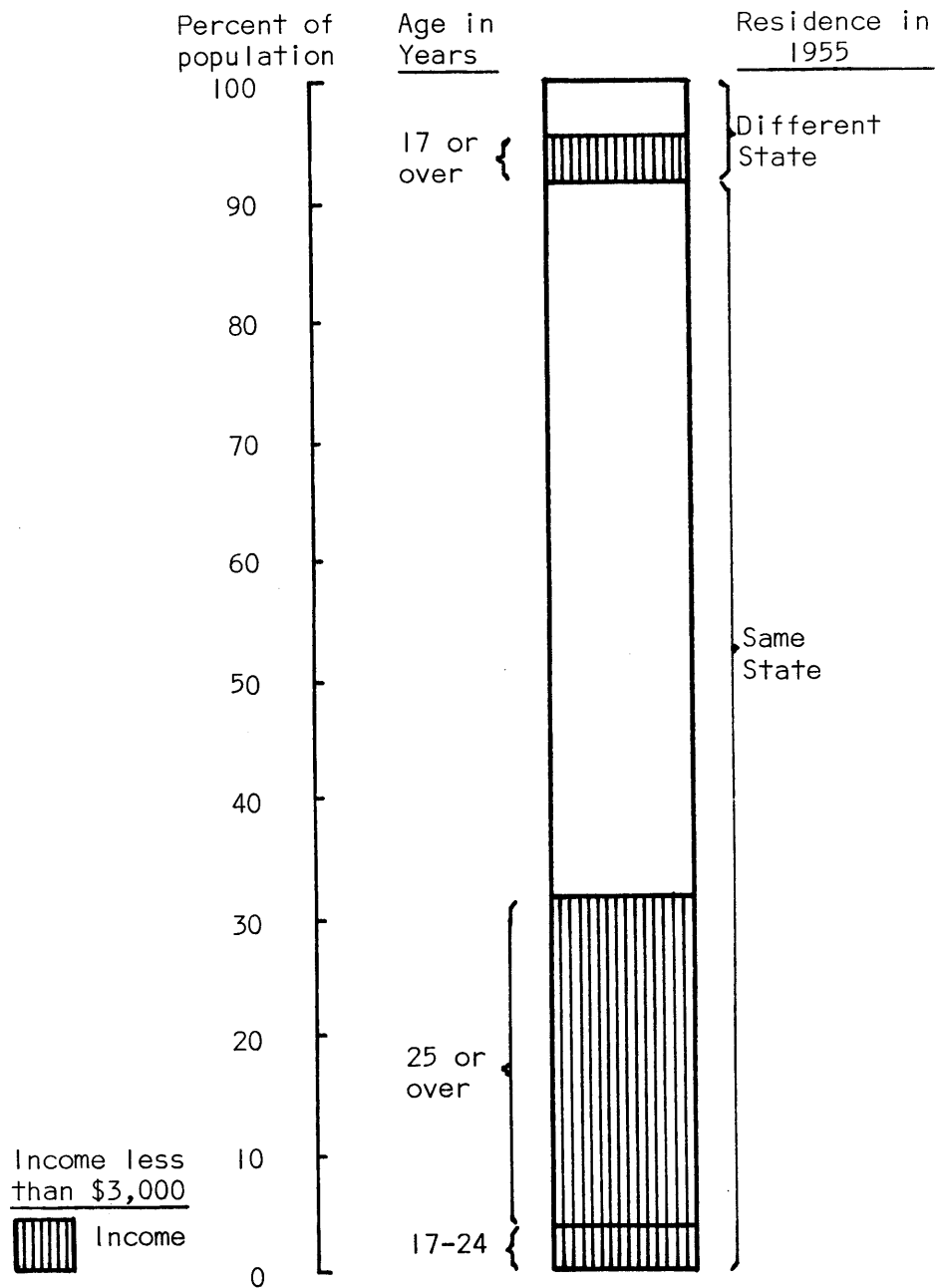
population. Some certainly filled the ranks of the lower segment of the population, but it appears that not many of the low income families in 1950 could have moved upward very much by 1960. It is likely that more of the "new poor" in 1960 were the sons and daughters of the "older urban poor" than new migrants to the metropolitan areas.

Even the upper segment of the population did not move ahead that much during the decade 1950 to 1960. The proportion of white collar workers increased from over 16 percent to 19 percent of the labor force, or by less than 3 percent. True, the number of professionals and technical workers increased rapidly, but even by 1960 they accounted for less than 5 percent of the labor force. The number of persons with incomes above \$6,000 also increased dramatically, but again, by the end of the decade they accounted for only about 6 percent of those with income. By the end of the decade nearly 60 percent of all nonwhite persons with income had incomes below \$3,000 per year.

Many nonwhites made important gains during the decade. Many of these gains were highly visible, for nonwhites were seen in new roles and in new places. But most nonwhites made little or no progress during this decade. Furthermore, what little evidence exists suggests that while a few Negroes have continued to advance rapidly in the period since 1960, the majority of the Negro population may have actually slipped backward in the struggle for socio-economic advance.

The decade 1950-1960 should not be characterized as one in which the metropolitan Negroes advanced their position in society. It may be more accurately described as one in which a few Negroes moved ahead, many made little or no progress, and the gap between the lower status Negro and higher status Negroes widened significantly. This was a period in which the lower status Negro became more isolated.

18 NEGROES, 17 YEARS OLD OR OVER, IN THE NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS WITH POPULATIONS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, WITH INCOMES BELOW AND ABOVE \$3,000, BY MIGRATION STATUS: 1960



Source: [Special tabulations of 1960 Census, unpublished]

WHO IS ADVANCING: THOSE BORN IN THE SAME STATE AND THOSE BORN IN THE SOUTH

If one segment of the Negro population in the larger Northern metropolitan areas is advancing while another segment is making little or no progress, it may be commonly assumed that those born in the North would be advancing while those born in the South would be those making little progress because of the difficulties of adapting to the Northern urban environment. If those who had lived longer in the Northern metropolitan areas were more likely to advance socio-economically, then one would expect that when those born in the North are compared to those born in the South, that those in the North would be better educated, would be more likely to have found work, have better jobs and higher incomes, would have achieved a more stable family life, and would occupy better housing than those who had been born in the South. In short, one would expect that those born in the North, and living in large metropolitan areas in their state of birth, would have adapted better and advanced more than those who had been born in the South and then migrated to the larger Northern metropolitan areas. These expectations can be tested against data provided by the 1960 census.\*

Education

When those living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas and born in the state of residence are compared to those born in the South it

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\* Those born in the South should not be confused with the recent migrants referred to in a previous section. Not all recent migrants were born in the South, and only a small minority of those living in these areas and born in the South recently migrated. As migrants tend to be the younger population, it is likely that the age of the Negro from the South provides some indication of his length of stay in the Northern metropolitan area -- that is, older Negroes have probably lived in the Northern metropolitan areas longer than the younger ones.

is found that those ages 17 to 24, from the South, are about equally educated but that the older migrants from the South have received fewer years of schooling than those born in the state of residence. [IIB-1]

### Employment

When those living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas and born in the state of residence are compared to those born in the South, those born in the South, in all age groups, are more likely to be in the labor force, either working or actively seeking work, than are those born in the state of residence. Unemployment rates vary for the different age groups, but for the total civilian labor force, those born in the South are somewhat less likely than are those who were born in the state of residence to be unemployed. [IIB-3]

Although those born in the South are more likely to be employed than those born in the state of residence, they are less likely to be employed in the higher status jobs. On the basis of education, this would be expected for those over 25, but not for those 17 to 24 years old. [IIB-2]

### Income

In spite of the comparative educational and occupational disadvantage of those Negroes born in the South, they compete successfully in terms of income with those living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas and born in the state of residence. Ironically, the younger in-migrant from the South, the one most equally matched in educational achievement with the Negro born in the North, is also the one who competes least successfully with his Northern counterpart. When those ages 25 to 44 are compared, the in-migrant from the South and the Negro born

in the state of residence are about equally likely to live in families with incomes above \$3,000. For those Negroes over 45 years old, those born in the South are likely to have higher incomes than those who were born in the North. For the total population, 17 years old and over, the family incomes of migrants from the South and of those born in the North are quite similar. [IIB-5] Evidently the educational and occupational handicaps of the migrants from the South are largely overcome, and in part, at least, by their greater rate of participation in the labor force.

This data tends to support the previous findings that recent in-migrants to the large Northern metropolitan areas, though comparatively well equipped educationally, do not compete effectively economically. However, this data also suggests that the migrant from the South adapts rather quickly, and that before long he may be economically better off than those who were born in the North. This finding is particularly striking inasmuch as the older migrants from the South were particularly disadvantaged in comparison to those born in the North in terms of educational and occupational attainments.

### Housing

Residents in the larger Northern metropolitan areas who were born in the South also compete quite effectively with those born in the state of residence in terms of housing. When those born in the South are compared to those born in the state of residence, those born in the South are about equally likely to live in the suburbs; they are more likely to be home owners; they are less likely to be paying an excessive amount of their income for rent; and although they are somewhat more likely to live in substandard housing, they are less likely to live in overcrowded housing. [IIB-6]



### Family Composition

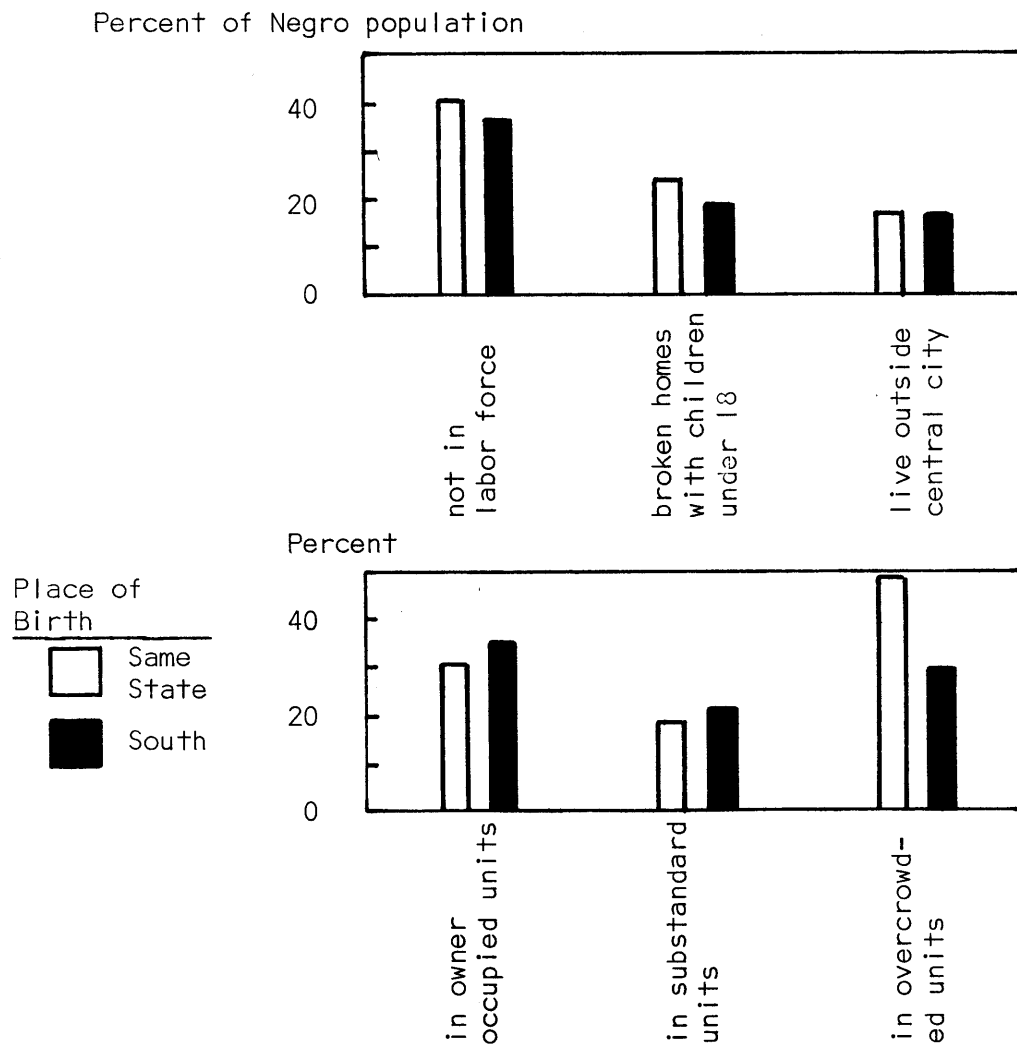
The family compositions of those living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas who were born in the state of residence and of those who were born in the South are quite similar. Migrants from the South and those born in the state of residence are about equally likely to be in households where both the husband and wife are present. About the only clear difference between those born in the South and those born in the North is that those born in the North are likely to have a larger proportion of households with children under 18 that are broken. [IIB-7]

### Summary

When younger Negroes living in the larger Northern metropolitan areas and born in the state of residence are compared with the counterparts who have migrated into these areas from the South, it appears that they are relatively evenly matched educationally, but that the migrants from the South initially do poorly economically. That this situation is only temporary is suggested by the fact that when older Negroes living in these areas and born in the state of residence are compared to those of similar age born in the South, those from the South, although possessing less education and fewer occupational skills are more likely to be employed, and manage to attain equal or higher family incomes and more or less equally adequate housing. Furthermore, those born in the South are more likely to bring their children up in stable family environments. In short, although earlier migrants from the South arrived with less education and fewer occupational skills than their Northern counterparts, they nonetheless have adapted at least as well, and possibly better, to opportunities in the Northern metropolitan areas than those of similar ages born in the North. If anything, the

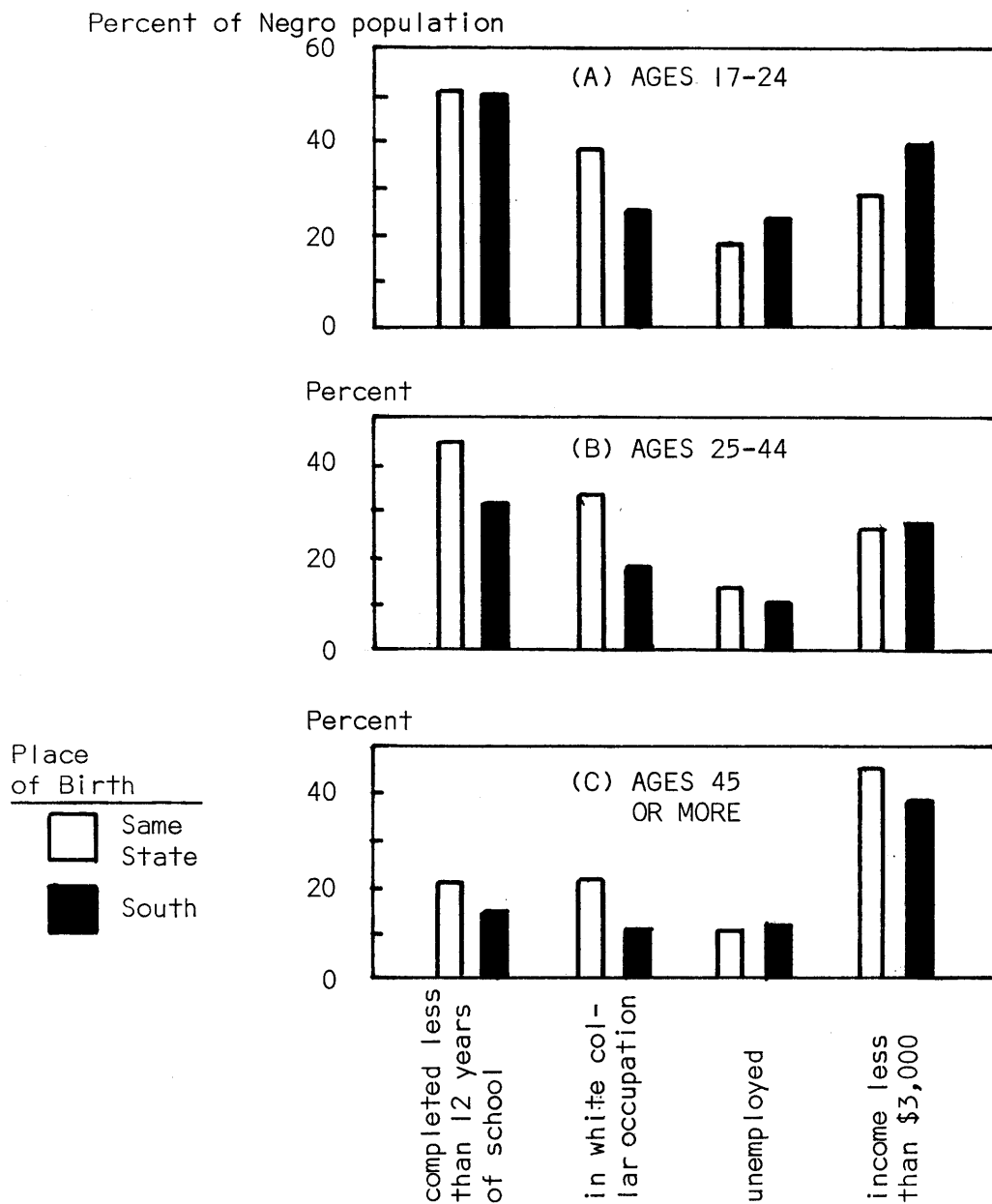
migrants from the South, after a brief initial period of adjustment, appear to be the more upwardly mobile of the Negro inhabitants in these larger metropolitan areas.

19 SELECT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION, 17 YEARS OLD OR OVER, IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH: 1960



Sources: [11B-3, 6, 7]

20 SELECT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND AGE: 1960



Source: [IIB-1, 2, 3, 5]

## NEGRO-WHITE DIFFERENCES

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### Education

If nonwhites living in the larger metropolitan areas are better educated than nonwhites living elsewhere, whites living in these metropolitan areas are also better educated than whites living elsewhere. If the educational attainment of nonwhites increased in the decade 1950 to 1960, so did the educational attainment of the white population. As a result there continues to be a substantial gap between the educational level of the white population and the nonwhite population, though this gap is being reduced. In 1950 the average median years of schooling for the nonwhite population living in the 12 largest metropolitan areas was 8.5 years, compared to 10.5 for the white population. By 1960 nonwhites had advanced to 9.5 years while the white population advanced to 11.2 years. [IIIC-1, IIIC-2] The gap in educational attainment between the white and nonwhite population is less in the major metropolitan areas than it is in the remainder of the United States, and the gap has been closing more rapidly in these areas than elsewhere in the United States.

Nonetheless, nonwhites remain at a considerable disadvantage in comparison to the white population. One vantage point from which to view the relative disadvantage of the nonwhite population is to compare the amount of schooling acquired by the white and nonwhite populations 25 years old and over. In 1960, 45 percent of the white population in the 12 largest metropolitan areas had completed high school, compared to 30 percent of the nonwhite population. When it is remembered that younger individuals are better educated than their elders, and that the nonwhite population is considerably younger than the white population, the disparity between the white and nonwhite population becomes even

larger. Nonwhites have been gaining relative to the white population. Whereas in 1950 whites were nearly twice as likely to be high school graduates as were nonwhites, by 1960 they were 50 percent more likely to be high school graduates. These gains are not insignificant. Nonetheless, if nonwhites continue to close the gap at the same rate as they did between 1950 and 1960, that is, to reduce it by the same number of percentage points each decade, nonwhites will not be equally likely to have completed a high school education before 2010 A.D., or for nearly 50 years.

Such a calculation is relatively crude, though, because it does not take into account differences in the various age groups. However, more refined data are available only for the nation as a whole, and then only for the more recent years. These data reveal that during the decade 1950 to 1960 the nonwhite school population made rapid gains at the high school level, relative to the white population. [225, p.195] However, during the 1960's, the situation appears to have deteriorated. Between 1960 and 1964 the percent of white high school dropouts declined from 24.3 percent to 19.7 percent. During the same period, the proportion of nonwhite dropouts declined from about 49 percent to about 39 percent, but then rose again to 48 percent in 1964. [17, 44] Furthermore, these disparities are probably greater in the major metropolitan areas than they are elsewhere. A study in 1965 indicated that white high school retention rates are higher in metropolitan areas whereas nonwhite retention rates are higher in non-metropolitan areas. [40, p.456] It is therefore possible that the gains made by the nonwhite high school population, relative to the white, during the 1950's may now be in the process of being lost, at least in the major metropolitan areas.

As slow as the relative gains of the nonwhite population were in the 1950's in terms of high school education, they were better than in the case of college education. In the major metropolitan areas, nonwhites have actually lost ground relative to the white population during the decade 1950 to 1960. In 1950 5 percent of the white population over 24 years old had finished 4 or more years of college, compared to 3 percent of the nonwhite population. However, in the 1950's the major metropolitan areas became much more the centers of learning for the white population than they did for the nonwhite. As a result, by 1960 about 12 percent of the white population had 4 or more years of college, compared to only 4 percent of the nonwhite population. The likelihood of achieving 4 or more years of college thus increased much more rapidly for the white population than for the nonwhite. [IIIC-1]

The disparity between white and nonwhite students who receive Doctoral degrees is even much greater than the disparity at the undergraduate college level. In the nation as a whole, between 1955 and 1959 Negroes received doctorates at the rate of about 137 a year. From 1960 to 1962 the rate increased somewhat, to about 160 a year. However, during that same period the rate increased more rapidly for the white population. Between 1955 and 1959, 64 white students received a Doctorate degree for each Negro student. Between 1960 and 1962, the ratio of white to Negro students awarded Doctorates increased to 68 to 1. Furthermore, if only those Negro students in integrated colleges are included, the ratio increases to a phenomenal 194 to 1. [20, p.564]

The educational disparities between the nonwhite and white populations are even greater than the figures on years of schooling and degrees earned indicate. The educational attainments of nonwhites are

below those of whites at the same grade levels. A recent study indicated that, in metropolitan areas outside of the South, nonwhites are performing a little less than 2 grade levels below whites by sixth grade, about 2-1/2 grade levels behind by ninth grade, and well over 3 grade levels behind by twelfth grade. In other words, nonwhites in the twelfth grade were performing below white students in ninth grade. This pattern prevailed in the various academic subjects tested -- verbal ability, reading comprehension, and mathematical achievement. [40, pp.218-290]

A few school systems have maintained data on test performance by race. These schools afford the opportunity for a more intimate look at the disparity between white and nonwhite educational performance and opportunity. In these school systems the same general pattern prevails as in the nation as a whole. Nonwhites drop further and further behind white pupils as they advance through the school system, and by the junior high school level they are far behind.

In Boston, on reading tests, Negro schools fall behind white schools by more than a half year between the second and sixth grades. What is even more significant, in second grade Negro schools are performing above the national averages, whereas by sixth grade, they are a full year behind. [127] In New York, Negro students are performing at the national average in third grade, although they are a year behind the white students in the New York city schools. However, by sixth grade, Negro students are performing a year below national average, and two years below the white students in the same school system. [136] The pattern is even more clearly etched in Central Harlem. Central Harlem pupils are a year and a half behind by third grade, but they fall nearly three years behind their white contemporaries in New York by sixth grade.

In other words, whereas the white students advance the expected three years between third and sixth grade, Central Harlem pupils advance only about half as far. Whereas in third grade about 30 percent of Central Harlem pupils were reading below grade level, by sixth grade more than 80 percent were behind grade level. The Haryou study of Central Harlem concludes: "The basic story of academic achievement in Central Harlem is one of inefficiency, inferiority, and massive deterioration. . . . the further students progress in school, the larger the proportion of them who are performing below grade level." [248, p.166]

Chicago is one of the best studied school systems. At the sixth grade level Negroes perform about a year below the national average on word meaning, reading, and social studies tests, about a half year below on science tests, and above the national average on mathematics. However the students in the white schools perform about a year to a year and a half ahead of the national averages, so that the disparity between white and Negro students remains about 2 years in Chicago as elsewhere. In Chicago, as in many of the larger cities, most of the Negro pupils are confined to predominantly Negro schools. When Negro schools are compared to white schools, a number of additional disparities emerge. The salaries for teachers, on a per pupil basis, in Negro schools average about 15 percent less than for teachers in white schools and uncertified teachers are more than twice as likely to be found in Negro schools. Other per pupil expenditures are 75 percent greater in white schools than in Negro schools. Negro schools are larger, and there is an average of about 5 more pupils per classroom than in white schools. Finally, there are twice as many library books per pupil in white schools as in Negro schools. [5, 43] By any of the con-



ventional educational standards, educational opportunity is less in Negro schools than in white schools.\* These, and similar findings elsewhere, led to the conclusion in a background paper for the recent White House Conference on Education:

"Sadly, the blunt truth is that 'Negro education' is generally grossly inferior to 'white education' in both the North and South; it typically involves less expenditure per child, less trained and experienced teachers, and less adequate facilities; and it often prepares Negro youth through both its explicit and implicit curricula to assume only low-skilled employment befitting 'the Negro's place! . .'" [149, p.98]

The following conclusions emerge from the various studies of Negro-white differences in education. There are wide variations in achievement levels among Negroes and among whites. There are always some Negroes who perform better than some whites. In some areas, at least in the early years of schooling, average Negroes are performing better than are the average whites in some other areas of the country. Nonetheless, when Negroes and whites are compared in the same area, Negroes achieve less well than whites, and the difference increases with the number of years in school. In the major metropolitan areas Negroes not only perform below whites with the same number of years of schooling, but they are likely to receive less schooling. Furthermore, while the gap may be closing slowly at the secondary level of education, it is widening at the college level. The Negro in the major metropolitan area who looks at the education of Negroes elsewhere in the United States, or at the education of Negroes in the same metropolitan area 10 years earlier, may find cause for satisfaction and hope. But if the same

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\* The relationship between educational achievement, educational opportunity, and other factors will be more fully explored in a later chapter. For the moment it is sufficient to say that genetic differences cannot explain the differences between Negro and white achievement.

Negro compares his condition to that of the white population in the same community, it is more likely that he will have cause for despair, for he has been making very little headway in closing the gap in education between the Negroes and the whites, and there is still a long way to go. Indeed, just as it appears that the nonwhite may close the gap at the high school level, the white population is pulling further ahead of the nonwhite at the more advanced levels of education.

### Job Opportunity

In 1930 nonwhites were less likely than whites to be unemployed. By 1940 nonwhites were somewhat more likely to be unemployed, and the ratio of nonwhite to white unemployment has continued, increasing steadily. Since the mid-1950's nonwhites have been more than twice as likely to be unemployed as whites. The relatively low unemployment rate of the nonwhite population in 1930 was the result of the comparatively large proportion of nonwhites in agriculture, an occupation with low unemployment for everyone. However, in agriculture and in industry nonwhite unemployment has been higher than white, and the disparity has been increasing. [138, pp.748-752] In 1950 and 1960 nonwhite unemployment in the 12 largest metropolitan areas averaged over 10 percent, and the nonwhites were about two and one-half times as likely to be unemployed as whites. [IIID-2]

Part of the comparatively high nonwhite unemployment results from their position in the occupational structure. Nonwhites are concentrated in the lower skilled jobs, and unemployment is more prevalent in the lower skilled jobs. However, when whites and nonwhites in the same occupations are compared, nonwhites are still more likely to be unemployed than whites. Furthermore, the disparity is greater among white

collar workers than among blue collar workers. [225, p.88]

Unemployment is much higher among teenagers than among the rest of the population. Data are only available for the nation as a whole, but it is likely that the national figures reflect trends in the major metropolitan areas and that they underestimate the extent of the conditions in these areas. In the nation, teenage unemployment was comparatively low in the period immediately following World War II, and the disparity between white and nonwhite teenagers was small at this time. However, during the 1950's unemployment increased, and it has remained high since 1958. Furthermore, the disparity between white and nonwhite teenage unemployment increased since the end of the war. In 1948 white teenage male unemployment stood at 8.3 percent, compared to 7.6 percent for nonwhite males. In contrast, in no year between 1958 and 1965 did nonwhite teenage unemployment for boys fall below 20 percent, and for girls it did not fall below 25 percent. During this period white teenage male unemployment varied between 11.8 and 14.2 percent, and for females it never exceeded 13.6 percent. The disparities between white and nonwhite teenage unemployment have been even greater than for the adult population, and in the period of prosperity following the recession of 1958 teenage unemployment has not declined to the same extent as adult unemployment. [225, pp.83f.] As dismal a picture as the national figures portray, they understate the plight of nonwhite teenagers in the ghettos of the large cities. For example, a survey around 1960 for the Conference on Unemployed, Out-of-school youth in Urban Areas revealed the following:

"In a slum section composed almost entirely of Negroes in one of our largest cities the following situation was found. A total of 59 percent of the male youth between the ages of 16 and 21 were out of school and unemployed. They were roaming

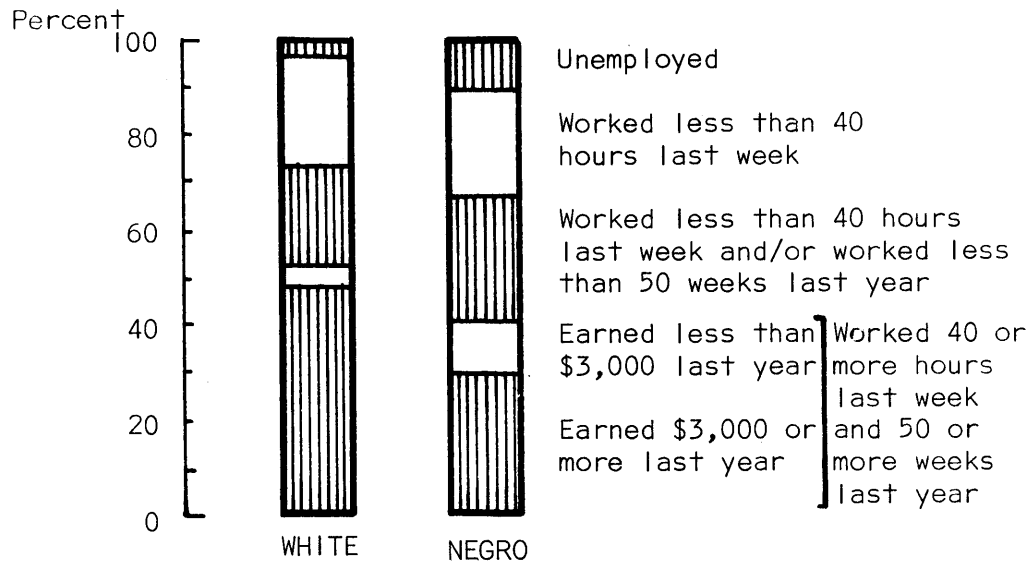
the streets. . . .

"An even worse state of affairs was found in another special study in a different city. In a slum area of 125,000 people, mostly Negro, a sampling of the youth population shows that roughly 70 percent of the boys and girls ages 16-21 are out-of-school and unemployed. . . ." [42]

There can be no doubt that the nonwhite is at a considerable disadvantage relative to the white in terms of unemployment, that the relative disadvantage has been increasing, and that the unemployment rates of nonwhites, particularly teenagers, in the major metropolitan areas has risen to a near disaster level.

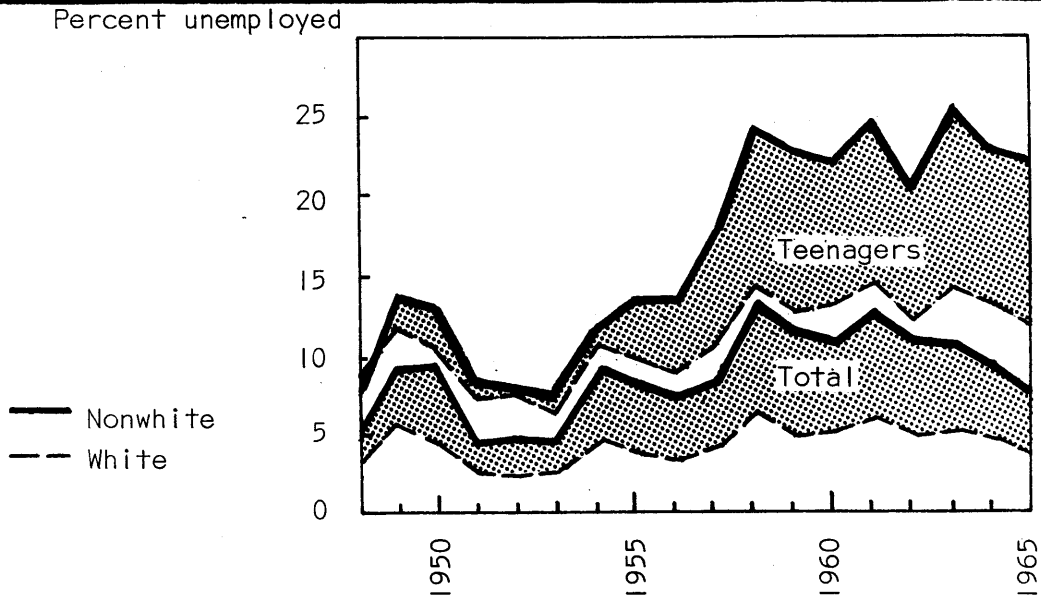
The unemployment rate is measured by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and is defined in such a way as to include those without a job who are actively seeking employment. Such estimates may seriously underestimate the extent of unemployment, for those who have lost hope of finding work and simply withdrew from the labor force are not considered as unemployed. The labor force participation rates give some indication of those who may have so withdrawn from the labor force. When white and nonwhite labor force participation rates are compared, nonwhite males have lower participation rates than white males, while nonwhite females have higher rates than white females. A recent study of employment in the larger metropolitan areas indicated that among males in the prime working years, 25-54, nonwhites were about two and a half times as likely to be outside of the labor force. [239, p.1110] Nonwhites in poverty areas are particularly likely to be outside the labor force. A recent study in Watts found the unemployment rate to be slightly more than 13 percent, or more than three times the rate of the nation as a whole. This study also indicated that the Negro male civilian labor force participation rate was 20 percent less than that for white males in the nation. [213, p.42; 124, March

21 UNEMPLOYMENT AND SUBEMPLOYMENT IN THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE  
IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, BY RACE:  
1960



Source: [IID-1]

22 UNEMPLOYMENT OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALES IN THE UNITED STATES,  
TOTAL AND AGES 14-19: 1948-1965



Source: [225, pp. 83f]

1966, p.154] It is thus possible that a more accurate measure of unemployment in Watts would be 33 percent, not 13 percent, of the male population.

The figures on unemployment understate the problem for the nonwhite. Unemployed nonwhites are likely to remain unemployed for longer periods of time than unemployed whites. Furthermore, among those employed, nonwhites are likely to work fewer hours than whites and they are less likely than whites to work a full 50 to 52 weeks a year. Of those in the civilian labor force in the large Northern metropolitan areas in 1960, 41 percent of the Negroes, compared to 51 percent of the whites were employed, working 40 or more hours a week, and had been employed for 50 to 52 weeks in the previous year. [ID-4]

Estimates of the employment difficulties of Negroes are likely to further understate the problem. It appears that in low income Negro areas 15 to 30 percent of the adult males may be uncaptured in the census enumerations. [IID-3] It is likely that these are the more transient of the population, that these are the ones most likely to be unemployed or marginally employed. The omission of this group in the census studies probably results in an undercount of those with the greatest employment difficulties.

It is likely that if these various difficulties in enumerating Negro employment difficulties were overcome, that an even greater disparity between the employment situation of whites and Negroes in the major metropolitan areas would be revealed.

Among the employed, nonwhites are also at a comparative disadvantage. In spite of the gains made by nonwhites during the 1950's, they still remain concentrated in the lower skilled jobs. Among the nonwhite

male labor force in 1960 in the major metropolitan areas, 19 percent were in white collar occupations, 11 percent were skilled workers, 25 percent were semi-skilled workers, and the remaining 55 percent were unskilled and service workers. In contrast, among the white male labor force 44 percent were in white collar occupations, 21 percent were skilled workers, 18 percent were semi-skilled, and only 17 percent were in unskilled and service jobs. [IIID-1]

Although nonwhite professional, technical, and kindred workers in the major metropolitan areas increased by 125 percent in the 1950's, they increased as a proportion of the nonwhite labor force from 2.9 percent to 4.9 percent, or by 2 percent. During this same period the proportion of the white male labor force in professional, technical and kindred jobs increased from 10.7 percent to 13.8 percent, or an increase of more than 3 percent. Thus the absolute gap between white and nonwhite professional and technical workers has widened. National figures indicate that nonwhite professional, technical, and kindred workers have been increasing more rapidly recently, but it is impossible to estimate if the increase has been sufficient to narrow the gap in the major metropolitan areas.

Between 1950 and 1960 the number of managers, officials, and proprietors in the United States increased somewhat, but the number declined in the major metropolitan areas. The proportion of the male nonwhite labor force in these occupations declined from 3.7 percent to 2.9 percent while the proportion of whites declined from 13.6 percent to 12.2 percent. Whites were more than 4 times as likely to work as managers, officials, and proprietors as were nonwhites in 1960. While the gap is closing, it is closing at an extremely slow pace. It is likely that op-

portunities for the small entrepreneur will diminish much further in the major metropolitan areas before nonwhites have gained an equal footing with whites in these occupations.

Between 1950 and 1960 male nonwhite clerical and sales workers in the major metropolitan areas increased by nearly 60 percent, and they increased as a proportion of the nonwhite male labor force from 9.7 percent to 11.3 percent. During this same period the white male clerical and sales personnel increased in number but declined as a proportion of the white labor force from 18.1 percent in 1950 to 17.8 percent in 1960. Thus the proportion of nonwhites increased by 1.6 percent while the proportion of whites declined by 0.3 percent. If the gap between whites and nonwhites continues to close at the same pace, nonwhite male workers will not have the same likelihood of being clerical and sales workers as whites until the decade 1990 to 2000, or for another 40 years.

In the decade 1950 to 1960 the number of skilled workers in the major metropolitan areas increased slightly and the number of semi-skilled workers declined somewhat. Within the male nonwhite labor force, the proportion of skilled workers increased from 10.4 percent in 1950 to 11.0 percent in 1960. During this same period the proportion of male white skilled workers declined from 22.1 percent to 20.9 percent. By 1960 whites were still nearly twice as likely as nonwhites to be skilled workers. Again, if nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas continue to close the gap at the present rate, they will not have succeeded before the early part of the twenty-first century.

Nonwhites have been better represented in the semi-skilled occupations than in the skilled occupations. Indeed, a larger proportion of nonwhite males are semi-skilled workers than are white males. How-



ever, although jobs in these occupations have been increasing in the United States, they have been declining in the major metropolitan areas. It is these jobs that are readily lost to advances in technology.

Thus in spite of the improvements in the nonwhite occupational structure, nonwhites have been moving into the white collar jobs extremely slowly. The gap between white and nonwhite professionals and technical workers may not be closing. The gap between white and nonwhite clerical and sales workers is closing, but extremely slowly. The same is true among skilled workers. While the gap is also closing between white and nonwhite managers, officials, and proprietors, the nonwhite gains are slow, and they are occurring at a time of decreasing opportunity in these fields. Most nonwhites are caught in the semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, and these are the jobs that are being most rapidly reduced through technological innovation. These are also the jobs that are least rewarding financially and where unemployment is highest. In spite of recent gains, it can hardly be surprising that nonwhites are worried and dissatisfied with their occupational status.

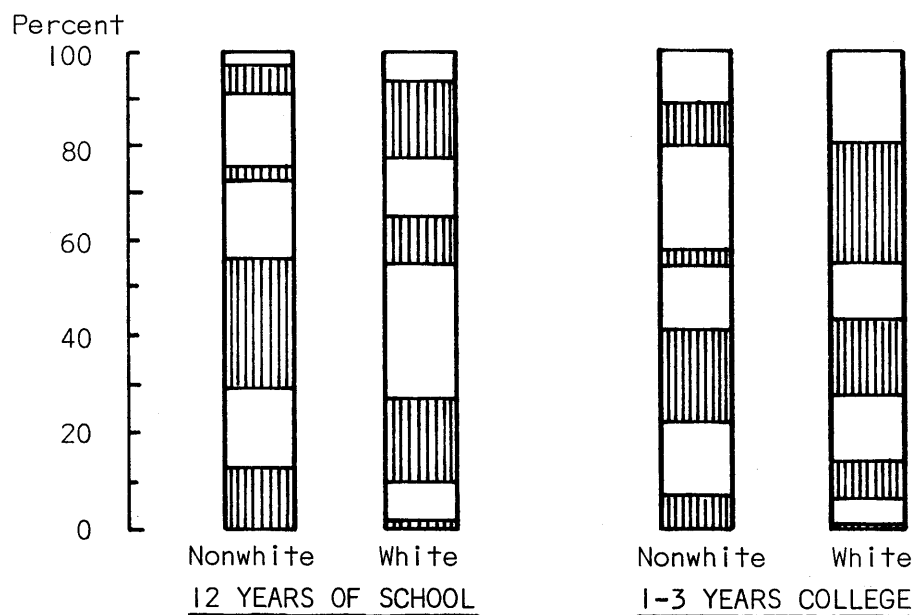
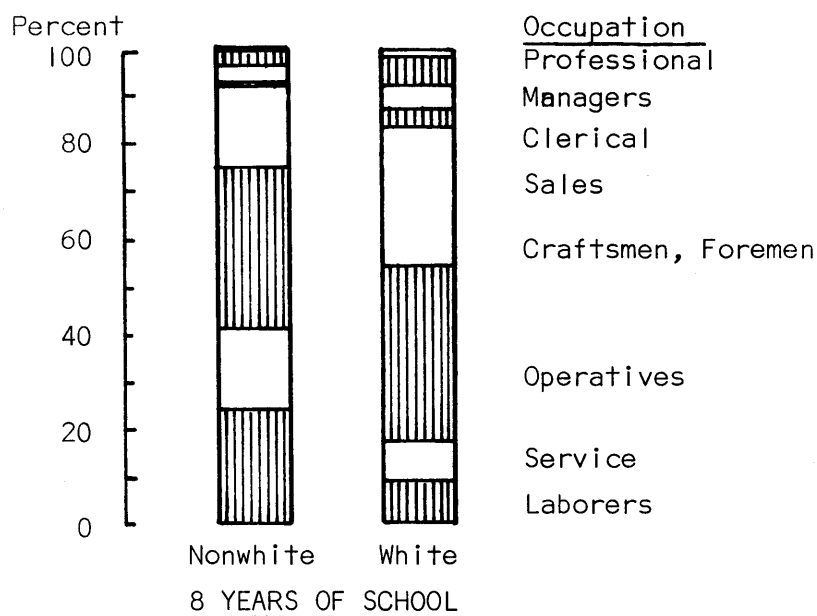
It has been argued that the comparatively poor education of the nonwhites is responsible for their predominance in the lower levels of employment. Data relating employment status to education are available for the central cities of urbanized areas in 1960 for the white and nonwhite populations by age groups. The following comparisons are for white and nonwhite males, ages 35 to 44. [182, p.146]

When whites and nonwhites in the blue collar jobs are compared, it is clear that education is not a major factor contributing to the comparative low status of nonwhite blue collar workers. Within the lowest status category, that of laborer, nonwhites are more likely to be in such

jobs than are whites at each educational level. Indeed, whites with less than 5 years of schooling are about as likely to be laborers as nonwhites who have had some high school. Whites with 5 to 7 years of schooling rank equally with nonwhites who have completed high school. The most skilled blue collar jobs, those of craftsmen and foremen, are dominated by white workers. White workers with no schooling are still more likely to be foremen than are nonwhites, no matter how much education nonwhite workers may have had. About 19 percent of white workers with no schooling and 30 percent of whites with 1 to 3 years of high school are employed as skilled workers in comparison to 8.1 percent of nonwhites with no schooling and less than 15 percent of nonwhites with 1 to 3 years of high school. Among those whites with 1 to 3 years of college, less than 13 percent are in semi-skilled, unskilled, and service jobs compared to more than 40 percent of nonwhites with some college education. For the nonwhites, even some college education does not appear to provide an escape from the low status jobs.

Among white collar jobs whites and nonwhites appear to have equal opportunity only in the professional and technical jobs, and only for those who have completed 4 or more years of college. At lower educational levels, whites are much more likely than nonwhites to occupy professional and technical jobs. In the other white collar jobs, whites with at least some high school education predominate as managers, officials, and proprietors while nonwhites are over-represented as clerks and semi-skilled blue collar workers. Except among college graduates, whites are about 3 times as likely to be managers, officials, or proprietors as are nonwhites of similar education. These comparisons provide ample evidence that, at least for the nonwhite, education does not

23 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF MAJOR OCCUPATION OF EXPERIENCED LABOR FORCE BY EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT AND COLOR FOR MALES AGED 35-44 IN CENTRAL CITIES OF URBANIZED AREAS: 1960



Source: [182, p. 146]

provide a firm bridge to job opportunity.

### Income

While the average median income of nonwhite persons in the 12 largest metropolitan areas increased from \$1,724 to \$2,435 between 1949 and 1959, the income of whites increased from \$2,524 to \$3,841. While the median income of nonwhites increased by a little over \$700, the median income of whites increased by more than \$1,300. The gap between the median nonwhite income and the median white income increased from \$800 in 1949 to over \$1,400 in 1959. [IIIE-1]

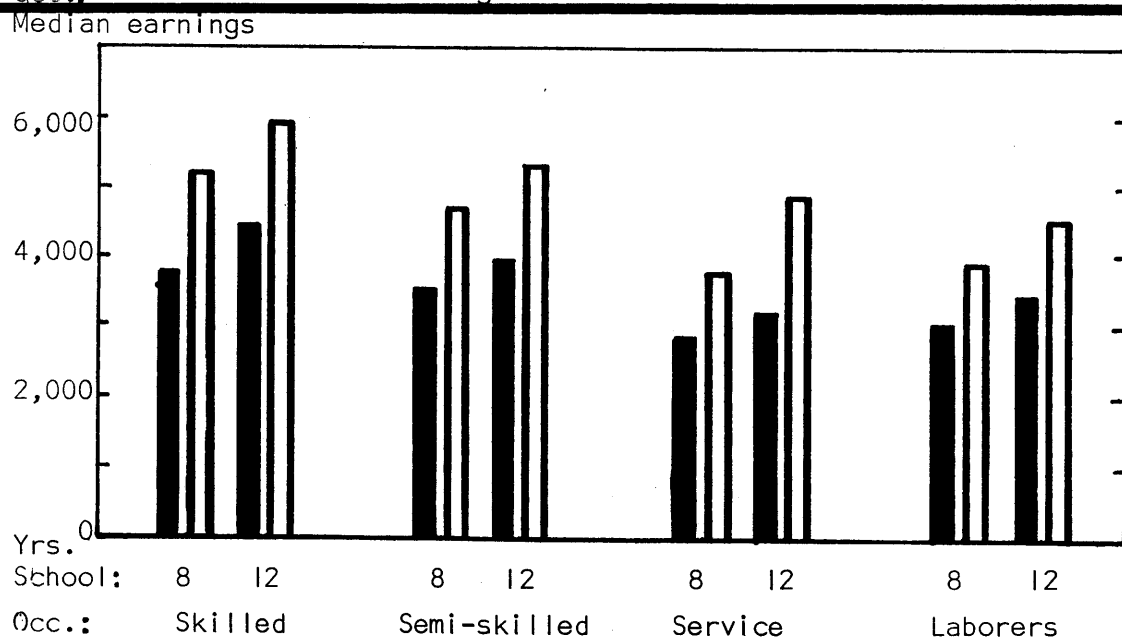
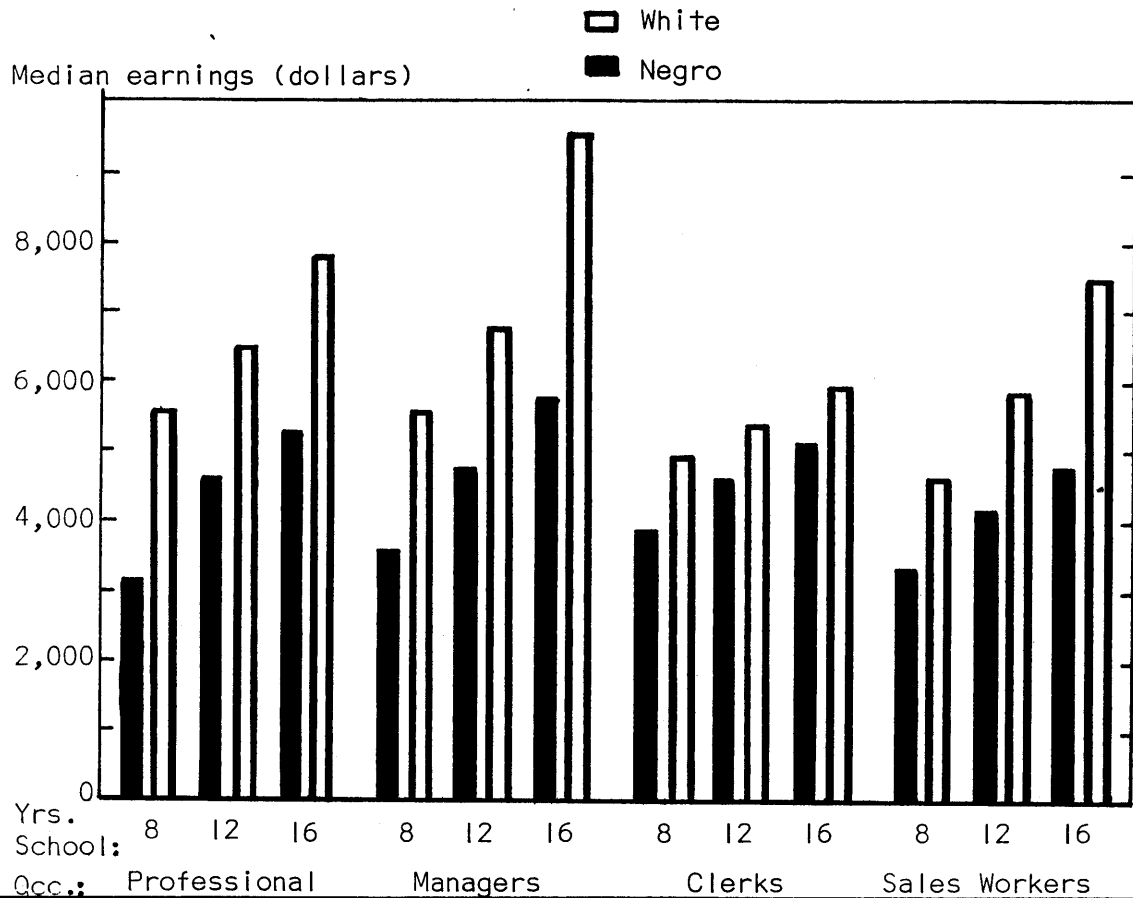
Various explanations have been offered to explain the disparity between nonwhite and white income. Some may note that nonwhites have less education, and it would therefore be expected that they would have lower incomes. Some note that nonwhites are concentrated in the lower paying occupations and that therefore they must naturally earn less than whites. Data relating education and income; occupation and income; and occupation, education, and income are not available for the individual metropolitan areas, but they are available for the nation as a whole. It is likely that the national data reflect trends in the major metropolitan areas, even if there might be some variations occurring within the individual metropolitan areas.

When the income of white and nonwhite families is compared on the basis of the education of the head of the household, nonwhites still earn much less than do whites, although for both whites and nonwhites income increases with increasing education. Nonwhites with 4 years of high school earn less than whites with only an elementary school education. Nonwhites with 1 to 3 years of college earn less than whites with 1 to 3 years of high school. [49, p.786] When the lifetime earnings of

nonwhite males are compared to that of white males, nonwhites with 1 to 4 years of high school earn 60 percent of what whites with the same education earn, and nonwhites with 4 years of college earn less than 50 percent of what white males with 4 years of college earn in a lifetime. [23, p.260]

The comparatively high rates of unemployment among nonwhites does not provide an adequate answer either. Among nonwhite families with the male head unemployed, nearly 50 percent were living in poverty, compared to less than 25 percent of white families with unemployed male heads. Furthermore, employment does not necessarily lift nonwhite families out of poverty. In fact, the disparity between white and nonwhite families is more pronounced among those families with working heads. Among those families with an employed male head, only 7 percent of white families were living in poverty compared to over 30 percent of nonwhite families. Among those families with an employed male head, nonwhite semi-skilled workers are 3 times as likely to live in poverty as white semi-skilled workers; nonwhite skilled workers are 5 times as likely to live in poverty as white skilled workers; and nonwhite clerical, technical, and professional workers are 6 times as likely to live in poverty as white families with the heads employed in the same occupation. These disparities reflect, of course, differences in the earnings of whites and nonwhites in the same occupation. When white and nonwhite males of the same age and in the same general occupation are compared on the basis of their earnings, only among clerical workers do nonwhite earnings exceed 70 percent of white earnings. In all the other major occupational groups nonwhite workers earn between 60 and 70 percent of what white workers earn in the same occupation. [144, pp.75,80]

24 MEDIAN EARNINGS OF WHITE AND NONWHITE MALES AGES 25-64, BY YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED AND OCCUPATION GROUP: 1960



Source: [174, March 1964, p. 108]

The tendency for nonwhites to receive jobs in lower status and income occupations than whites with similar education had been previously noted. But even within the same occupation, nonwhites remain at a disadvantage in comparison to whites with similar education. In each of the white collar occupation groups nonwhite male workers with 16 years of school are earning about the same as whites with 8 years of schooling. Among skilled, semi-skilled, and service workers and laborers nonwhites who have completed high school earn substantially less than whites who have completed elementary school, but have had no high school education. [124, March 1964, p.108]

Thus the income gap between white and nonwhite families increased between 1950 and 1960. The comparatively low nonwhite income cannot be explained by laziness, for nonwhite poor are more likely than white poor to be working. It cannot be explained by a less adequate education, because when whites and nonwhites with similar education are compared, nonwhites still earn substantially less than whites. It cannot be explained by low occupational status, because within the same occupations nonwhites earn less than whites. Indeed, within the same white collar occupation group, nonwhites with a college education earn less than whites who have never gone beyond the eighth grade. Nonwhites must be wondering what is necessary to close the income gap, because working, better education, and higher occupational status have not proved to be sufficient.

### Housing

In spite of the rapid improvements in the condition of housing occupied by nonwhites in the major metropolitan areas, nonwhites continue to occupy less adequate housing than whites. In the large Northern me-

metropolitan areas nonwhite home owners are four times as likely as whites to be living in substandard housing, and nonwhite renters are nearly three times as likely as white renters to be living in substandard dwelling units. Furthermore, whites are nearly twice as likely to be home owners as nonwhites, and home owners are less likely to be in substandard housing. As a consequence, nonwhites in these areas are nearly five times as likely as whites to be living in substandard units. [IF-3]

These differences cannot be explained as a consequence of the comparatively low income of nonwhite households. When whites and nonwhites of similar incomes are compared, nonwhites are still much more likely to live in substandard housing. In short, nonwhites are paying more for poorer quality housing than are whites. For example, a study in Baltimore found Negroes paying an average of \$10 a month more for housing that was, on a rating scale, 19 percent worse than those of their white neighbors. A study of families receiving aid to dependent children in Chicago found that white families were paying an average of \$65 a month, that nonwhite families were paying an average of \$83 a month, and that nonwhite families lived in poorer housing. [Cited in 171, p.84] In the central cities of 11 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas, nonwhites who were paying more than \$120 a month were, on the average, more likely to live in substandard units than were whites who were paying less than \$80 a month. Furthermore, the relative disadvantage of nonwhites may have increased between 1950 and 1960. The ratio of the percent nonwhite to percent white substandard rental housing decreased somewhat during the decade, but the ratio increased for homeowners. [IIIF-3]

Negroes are nearly three times as likely as whites to be living in overcrowded housing. When Negroes and whites of similar incomes



are compared, the disparities between the two increases further. About 38 percent of all Negroes in these areas live in overcrowded housing, and the likelihood of living in overcrowded housing diminishes only slightly with increases in income. [IF-2] Furthermore, overcrowding among white households decreased more rapidly than among nonwhites between 1950 and 1960 in five of the eight large metropolitan areas for which the data are available. [IIIF-3]

Another important index of the adequacy of housing is whether it is available at a cost the families can afford. In the larger Northern metropolitan areas 33 percent of Negroes, compared to 21 percent of whites, are in households that are paying an excessive amount -- more than 25 percent of annual income -- for rent. When Negroes and whites of similar incomes are compared, these differences diminish substantially. [IF-4] However, in four of the five metropolitan areas for which data are available, rents increased more rapidly for nonwhites than for whites during this decade. [IIIF-6]

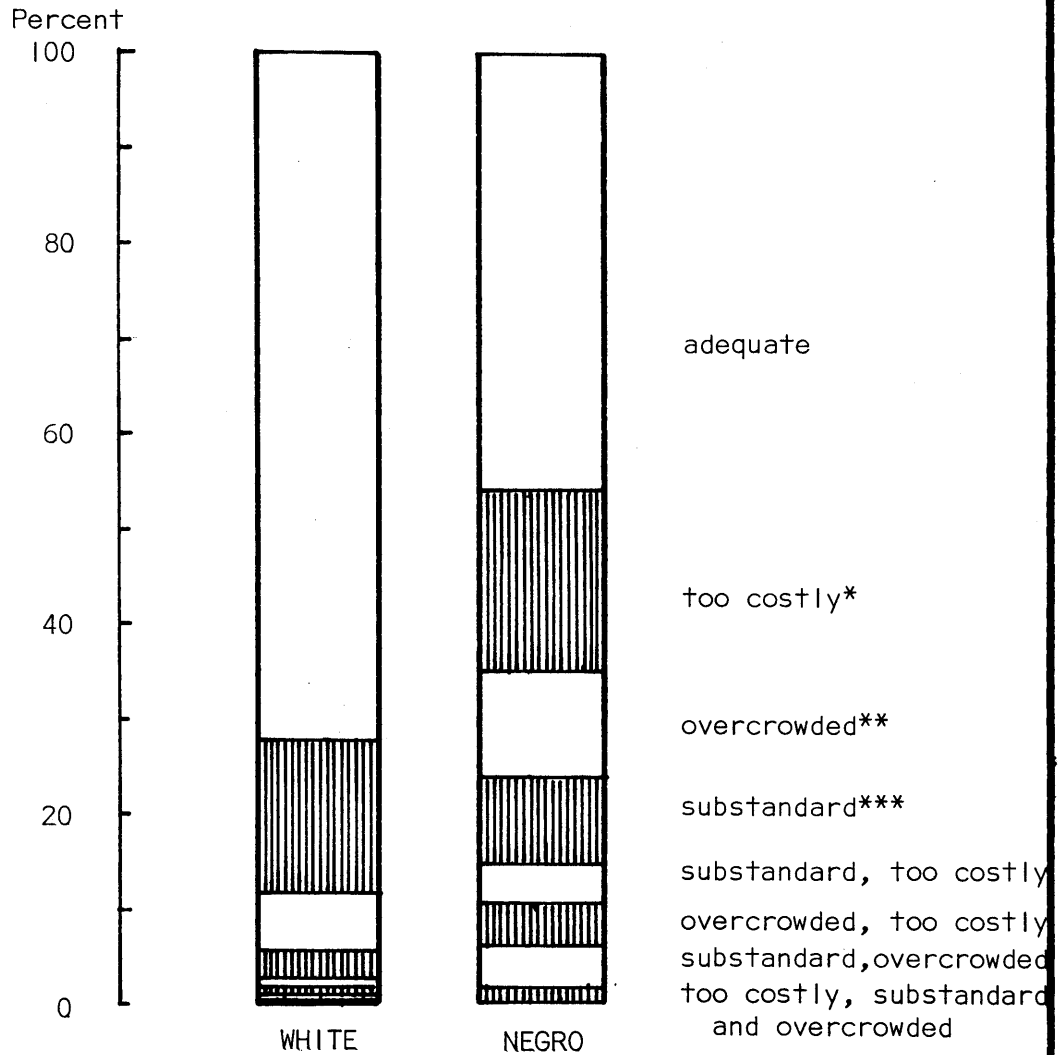
When the various measures of housing adequacy are considered together, Negroes are more than twice as likely as whites to live in inadequate housing. Fewer than 50 percent of Negro households are adequately housed in the larger Northern metropolitan areas. [IIF-2]

Nonwhites are improving their housing, but they are paying more for the improved housing, and they are paying much more than are whites for comparable housing. Furthermore, these disparities may be increasing.

### Summary

In all the major metropolitan areas, and indeed, throughout the United States, there is a wide disparity between the Negro and white

25 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE HOUSEHOLDS IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE, BY RACE AND ADEQUACY OF HOUSING: 1960



- \* Rent-income ratio .25 or more  
or Value-income ratio 3 or more
- \*\* More than 1 person per room
- \*\*\* Dilapidated and/or lacking one  
or more plumbing facilities

Source: [IIF-2]

populations. Furthermore, in some instances this disparity is decreasing slowly, but in other instances it is widening. If present trends continue, there is little likelihood that Negroes and whites will assume equal positions in American society.

In education progress is uneven. At the same time that Negroes are closing the gap at the high school level, the white population is widening the gap at the more advanced levels of education. Thus, if present trends continue, there is every likelihood that Negroes will remain at the bottom of the ladder of educational achievement.

Negroes are much more likely to be unemployed than are whites, and the disparity between white and Negro unemployment rates seems to be widening slightly. Within the Negro population unemployment could be said to be reaching a near disaster level. Furthermore, employment does not of itself provide an adequate solution to deprivation. Poor Negroes are more likely to be working than are poor whites, and Negroes who are working are much more likely to be poor than are whites who are working. Even within the same occupations, Negroes are more likely to be unemployed, underemployed, and to receive less income than their white counterparts. While Negroes are beginning to move into higher skilled jobs, they are nonetheless advancing slowly relative to the white population.

In the decade of the 1950's nonwhite income declined relative to white income. Advances in education and employment status were not sufficient to help close the income gap. When whites and nonwhites of similar education are compared, the white workers tended to be in much better jobs. When whites and nonwhites in the same jobs were compared, white workers tended to earn much more for similar work. In each of the major white collar occupation groups nonwhite male workers with 16 years of

school are earning about the same as white workers with 8 years of school. Among skilled, semi-skilled, and service workers nonwhites who have completed high school earn substantially less than whites who have had no more than 8 years of schooling.

When the housing of whites and nonwhites were compared, whites are able to attain much better housing than Negroes for comparable expenditures. At similar income or investment levels, whites are more likely to be home owners, less likely to live in substandard or overcrowded units, and less likely to be paying more than 25 percent of their income for rent. In short, the Negro is unable to compete with the white on equal terms in the housing market.

While the extent of relative deprivation experienced by the Negro varies somewhat among the major metropolitan areas, it is nonetheless quite clear that in all the major metropolitan areas the Negro population is not participating fully in education, employment, income, or housing opportunities and there is little prospect that he will do so if the existing rate of change continues.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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Perhaps the single best measure of the position of the Negro in American society is income. When income is examined in the major metropolitan areas the following conclusions clearly emerge:

- The Negro in the larger metropolitan areas is likely to have a higher income than Negroes living elsewhere. Therefore the move from rural or smaller urban areas to the larger metropolitan areas is generally instrumental in achieving economic advancement.
- The Negro population as a whole has advanced economically in the major metropolitan areas, as it has elsewhere in the United States. However, not all Negroes have shared in this advance. While the upper segment of the population appears to have made considerable advances in the past 15 years, the lower segment of the population appears to have made little or no gains. Indeed, on the basis of what little evidence exists, in the period since 1960 the lower segment of the population, living in the large urban ghettos, may have actually suffered a decline in income.
- The relatively low income of the Negro population cannot be accounted for by the in-migration from the South, for it appears that, after an initial period of adjustment, Negroes born in the South and living in the major Northern metropolitan areas are earning as much, or more, than those Negroes who were born in the state of residence.
- There has been a widening cleavage in the Negro population. The income gap between the lower and upper segments of the Negro population has been widening.
- In the major metropolitan areas the median income of the

Negro falls substantially below that of the white population, varying between about one-half to three-quarters of white income in the 12 largest metropolitan areas. Furthermore, the gap between white and Negro income has been increasing during the post-war period.

Therefore, it would appear that the cities are failing to perform the classic function as an instrument of assimilation and upward mobility for the newcomer. Large numbers of Negroes are trapped within the city and are not moving ahead. Furthermore, those who are not moving ahead are becoming more and more isolated within the metropolitan population. The growing economic gap and residential separation between the lower and upper segments of the Negro population and between the Negro and white populations indicates this increasing isolation from the mainstream of society.

It is therefore necessary to next investigate the functions of the city, and to explore the manner in which it can contribute to the isolation or better integration of minority groups into the mainstreams of American society. One must ask why large segments of the Negro population are not melting into the great "melting pot" that at least partially assimilated the many other immigrant groups arriving in the major urban centers during the past century.

## **CHAPTER IV**

### **THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEGRO GHETTO**

## THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE NEGRO GHETTO:

### INTRODUCTION

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Why haven't the majority of urban Negroes reduced the socio-economic gap between themselves and white Americans? Why are they not being assimilated into the mainstreams of American culture? Is the socio-economic isolation of the lower segment of the Negro population related to their segregation in the ghettos of the major metropolitan areas? In the past, have ghettos assisted in the process of assimilation for other immigrant groups? Do ghettos today enhance the opportunities for their Negro inhabitants to share in the opportunities of American cities, or do the ghettos serve to isolate their inhabitants from these opportunities? Do the ghettos today function in the same manner for their present inhabitants as earlier American ghettos did for previous immigrant groups? If not, what is unique about the contemporary Negro American urban ghetto?

These are the questions to which this chapter is addressed. The focus will be upon the relationships between segregation and socio-economic opportunity. Such a focus does not imply a dismissal of the importance of other forms of discrimination. If it can be demonstrated that segregation, in and of itself, contributes to the loss of socio-economic opportunity, it cannot therefore be inferred that a reduction in segregation, without a reduction of other forms of discrimination, will be sufficient to reduce the socio-economic inequalities prevalent in American society. It may mean, though, that desegregation is a necessary, though not sufficient, condition for socio-economic equality in America today.



URBAN ADAPTATION: UPWARD BOUND?

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Although much has been written on the immigrant to America, little is actually known about the process of assimilation of immigrants or the role the ghetto may have played in this process. Most immigrants arrived in the major cities of America and most began their entry and ascent in the American socio-economic system in these cities. America, and particularly the major cities of America, thus came to be thought of as great "melting pots." Most observers of the American scene have also noticed, though, that the cities receiving the new immigrant populations developed distinct, separate ethnic communities into which the immigrants of each nationality often entered, and in which their descendents often remained. Thus alongside of the image of American cities as great melting pots must be placed that of the city as a pluralistic social system, with Oriental, Italian, Irish, Puerto Rican, Negro, and other ethnic enclaves and cultural variations. As the Negro has often been compared to previous immigrants, and the Negro ghetto has often been associated with those of previous immigrant groups, it may be instructive to turn briefly to the traditional images and functions of the city before more fully exploring the role of the Negro ghetto today.

American cities have long been thought of as melting pots in which new immigrants would be formed in the mold of the dominant American culture. As early as 1782 Jean de Crevecoeur wrote of "a family whose grandfather was an Englishman, whose wife was Dutch, whose son married a French woman, and whose present four sons have now four wives of different nations. He is an American, who leaving behind him all his ancient prejudices and manners, receives new ones from the new mode of life he has embraced. . . . Here individuals of all nations are melted

into a new race of men." [46, pp.54f.] A successful play in 1908, titled "The Melting Pot," proclaimed: "America is God's Crucible, the Great Melting Pot where all races of Europe are melting and reforming! . . . German and Frenchman, Irishman and Englishman, Jews and Russians -- into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American." [249, pp.37f.]

Entering the crucible was painful. It meant the disruption of old and established ways; it meant learning a new language and culture; it meant living in slum ghettos -- though life in these slums may well have been better than life in the old country; and it meant long hours, days, and years of hard work. But if life in the crucible of American cities was painful, it was made bearable by the promise of emergence from the crucible, by the rewards of success offered to those who joined the mainstream of American culture.

The Negroes have followed the German and Frenchman, the Irishman and Englishman, the Jews and Russians. They are the most recent immigrants to the large cities. Until recently, they, like many before, arrived from rural areas, poor, uneducated, and unskilled. It is perhaps not that surprising that Professor Hauser, chairman of the Sociology Department at the University of Chicago, should believe that "The problems which confront the Negro today, although perhaps differing in degree, are essentially the same kinds of problems which confronted our migrant groups in the past." He finds the problems that the Negro now confronts to be "problems of transition and readjustment" resulting from Negroes having "been drawn from a primitive folk culture into a metropolitan way of life." [87, p.315; 175, pp.36f.]

Comparing the Negro to the earlier immigrants provides an interesting perspective. There is a certain familiarity in the descrip-

tions of the earlier immigrants at the turn of the century.

"These southern and eastern Europeans (mostly peasants) are of a very different type from the north Europeans who preceded them. Illiterate, docile, lacking in self-reliance and initiative, and not possessing the Anglo-Teutonic conceptions of law, order, and government, their coming has served to dilute tremendously our national stock, and to corrupt our civic life." [48, pp.15f.]

Concern about these immigrants, and the future of urban areas, was heightened by fear of crime, violence, and the juvenile delinquency which was prevalent during the Nineteenth Century. The situation in New York over one hundred years ago was described thusly:

"For many years the Bowery Boys and the Dead Rabbits (both Irish gangs) waged a bitter feud. . . . The greatest gang conflicts of the early nineteenth century were fought by these groups. . . . Sometimes the battles raged for two or three days without cessation, while the streets of the gang area were barricaded with carts and paving stones, and the gangsters blazed away at each other with musket and pistol, or engaged in close work with knives, brickbats, bludgeons, teeth, and fists . . . all of the great brawling, thieving gangs . . . had their sycophantic gangs of youngsters. There were the Forty Little Thieves, the Little Dead Rabbits . . . the members of which emulated their elders . . . along the waterfront were the Little Daybreak Boys, composed of lads from eight to twelve years of age who were almost as ferocious as the older gangsters whose name they adopted and whose crimes they strove mightily to imitate." [9, pp.29,239]

But, so the story goes, the cities of America, working in their wondrous ways, succeeded in acculturating the "illiterate," the "docile," and the criminal. Many of these immigrants, or their children, or their children's children, moved upward into the middle class. Some moved into the upper classes. Within the past decade, the grandson of Irish immigrants had become President of the United States. If the poor, ignorant, downtrodden Irish peasant immigrants could find their way into the mainstreams of American society -- so the reasoning seems to go -- should not the Negro follow in due time.

But reasoning by analogy can be dangerously misleading. In the first place, it would be a mistake to believe that the early immi-

grants have become fully assimilated, losing their ethnic identities and joining the middle class. In the second place, it would be a mistake to believe that when immigrants enter the city that they are necessarily exposed and indoctrinated into the dominant middle class American culture. In the third place, history rarely repeats itself. The Negro is unlike the white in that he has a skin color that unmistakably marks his ethnic identity, and the cities of 1960 are unlike the cities of 1860 or 1910 in many important ways.

One can find tremendous variety in the urban ways in any major American city. While it is true that the various ethnic groups had largely lost their old world language and culture by the second and third generation, many nonetheless have maintained separate and distinct ethnic identities. They are American because their old world ways were transformed by the conditions of life in America, but they are not American in the sense of having fully assimilated the attitudes, values, and behavior of the dominant middle class culture.

In the cities today live second, third, and fourth generation descendants of the European immigrants. Many still live in ethnic communities which have established relatively stable, viable subcultures that differ from the majority ideal. Members of these communities often are comparatively satisfied, and they do not want to exchange the benefits of living in such communities for those of joining the middle class culture. Indeed, the desire to preserve their own subculture may be sufficiently strong that such communities censure their members if they try to achieve according to middle class standards. The good student may be taunted, the businessman who holds to the middle class business ethos may be ostracized, and the politician who mingles with the broader com-

munity will be suspect. [72, 76, 240]

Some in these communities may want to join the middle class. Some try and succeed; some fail; and others are afraid to try for fear of failure. Some feel that the opportunities to succeed by middle class standards are withheld from them. They may thus strive to achieve along other channels. Recent studies of juvenile delinquency reveal the delinquent in many communities not as a pathological individual set adrift in the big city, but rather as an individual well integrated into a group and conforming to well established group achievement norms. [251, 265]

Also within these cities are slums filled not with new immigrants, but with second, third, and fourth generation city dwellers. The poor in these slums may have many faces. Some may be black, but most are white. Some may be alcoholics; some may be drug addicts; many will be disabled or too old to work. Some will be women without husbands, others will be their illegitimate offspring. But most will be in stable families that are just too poor to be able to move out of the slums. Some may even have developed an attachment to the slums, and their friends in the slums. Most, though, will dislike their way of life, but feel unable to change it. Many feel trapped in what has recently been termed "the vicious cycle of poverty." They are part of a culture of poverty that perpetuates itself from one generation to the next. This culture is urban, and it is disturbingly stable. The anthropologist Oscar Lewis defines the situation thusly:

"I want to draw attention to the fact that poverty in modern nations is not only a state of economic deprivation, of disorganization, or of the absence of something. It is also something positive in the sense that it has a structure, a rationale, and defense mechanisms without which the poor could hardly carry on. In short, it is a way of life, remarkably stable and persistent, passed down from generation to generation along family lines. The culture of poverty has its own modalities and dis-

tinctive social and psychological consequences for its members." [117, p.XXIV]

When the migrant enters the city he is introduced not to the culture of the majority community, but to the culture of the subcommunity in which he resides. The neighborhood in which he lives, the friendships he establishes, the services that the city extends to his neighborhood, the opportunities available to his neighbors and to himself -- these, and not the more remote and indirect influence of the dominant culture, shape his life in the city. The neighborhood acts as an intermediary between the migrant and the larger community. The neighborhood may be a number of independent households, but more likely it will be tied together as a community with shared attitudes, values, and behavior. The members of the neighborhood may encourage or hinder the migrant's assimilation into the majority community. If the subgroup desires, or is compelled to maintain a distinct identity, it may encourage the migrant to cooperate with, avoid, or conflict with the majority community. There is nothing inevitable about which course will be taken.

The neighborhood that many Negroes enter, or are born into, is the racial ghetto. For an increasing share of American Negroes, the experience of growing up in America is that of growing up in the ghettos of the major metropolitan areas. The Negro ghetto, like other ghettos, must perform certain functions successfully if the inhabitants are to gain some semblance of equal opportunity in America.

- The ghetto must provide some sense of psychological security -- that is, the ghetto must foster the development of a sufficiently strong sense of individual identity. The belief that one can achieve precedes the will to achieve and the actual achievement.

- The ghetto environment must provide access to the educational opportunities which are necessary for effective entry and advancement in American society.

- The ghetto must provide access to employment opportunities through which economic advancement is possible.

- The ghetto must provide adequate shelter for its population. Such housing must not only meet certain physical standards of adequacy, but it must be available at a cost that the residents can afford.

The ghetto must contribute in many other ways to its resident population. However, it is the above four functions of the ghetto that will be discussed below. These four functions have been singled out because they are important indices of the differences between the Negro American ghetto today and the immigrant ghettos of past eras, and because these differences help to contribute to an understanding of why today's ghettos serve to widen the disparities between the Negro and the rest of American society.

## THE HISTORICAL MEANING OF THE NEGRO GHETTO

The European immigrant came to America voluntarily, and with the hope of participating in the opportunities available in America. He brought with him his European culture, his European heritage. The ghetto into which most of these immigrants moved provided a sense of security -- a sense of the familiar in a strange land. In these ghettos the new immigrants could continue to practice their former religion; they could eat familiar foods; and often they could visit with friends from the same village of their homeland. The ghetto often provided a place of transition in which they could relish and share their past experiences and cultural attitudes, values, and beliefs while at the same time learning what was necessary to perform effectively in the new world. As long as the ghetto was perceived as a bridge between the European past and an American future, it served as a source of psychological security. As long as the European heritage was looked upon with a sense of pleasure and pride, the bridge to the past was satisfying.

For the American Negro the ghetto is something quite different. The American ghetto is also a bridge to the Negro past. Only, for the American Negro, the past is a heritage of slavery and of enforced inferiority. The American Negro was forcibly separated from his African past, and the only cultural heritage that he has today is one that was shaped in the United States. Furthermore, for the American Negro, segregation, or ghettoization, has acquired a particular historical meaning that sets the Negro ghetto apart from any other. The Negro may perceive his ghetto not as a bridge, but as a barrier, to full participation in American life. To understand these distinct attributes of the Negro American ghetto, it is necessary to understand a little of the particular history of the Negro in America.



### Separation from the African Past

An understanding of the differences between the Negro in Africa and the Negro in America has been slow to evolve. For a long time the assumptions about the African Negro were more myth than reality, and many of these myths still persist. Thus, typical of popular assumptions, Tillinghast wrote in 1902: "The question is: did American slavery develop in the Negro his indolence, carelessness, brutality to animals, and aptness in deception, or did it merely fail to eradicate them as well as some better devised system might have done? Every characteristic just named we know to have been an integral part of the West African's nature long before any slaver ever touched our shore." [184, p.148]

In contrast, modern historical and anthropological research has uncovered a variety of West African cultures.\* These cultures had distinct and different languages and forms of artistic expression; complex economies characterized by a high degree of specialization and division of labor; and a variety of elaborate and well defined religious, legal, and political organizations. That these cultures had considerable ability to mobilize resources and utilize power is evidenced by the inability of Europeans to penetrate beyond the coastal areas until the late Nineteenth Century and by the 100 years of warfare before the British were finally able to subjugate the Ashanti. If anything like a typical West African tribesman existed, he was clearly neither a savage; nor indolent, nor careless. To the contrary: "The typical West African tribesman was a distinctly war-like individual; he had a profound sense of fami-

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\* The territory from which most of the slaves came from is now encompassed by the states of Nigeria, Dahomey, Togo, Ghana, and the Ivory Coast. There is a rapidly growing literature on the historical cultures of these areas. [64, 88, 89, 161]

ly and family authority; he took hard work for granted; and he was accustomed to live by a highly formalized set of rules which he himself often helped to administer. . . . He was the product, in any case, of cultural traditions essentially heroic in nature. . . . Fifty years ago, if the American Negro was congratulated for anything, it was for his remarkable advancement from a state of primitive ignorance. Now, however, looking back upon the energy, vitality, and complex organizations of West African tribal life, we are tempted to reverse the question altogether and to wonder how it was ever possible that all this native resourcefulness and vitality could have been brought to such a point of utter stultification in America." [59, pp.97f., 93]

Irrespective of how heroic the Negro may have been in Africa or how stultified he may be in America, it is certainly clear that little of the attitudes and behavior of the American Negro can be understood by the African past. Indeed, the Negro in America was intentionally and thoroughly detached from his prior cultural identity in Africa. This detachment from Africa began with the capture and transport of the slaves, and ended with the socialization experience they received upon arrival in America.

Part of this detachment was the result of the shock, brutality, and physical detachment evidenced in the capture and transport of the slaves. The first shock was capture. The second shock was experienced during the long march to the sea. "Under the glaring sun, through the steaming jungle, they were driven along like beasts tied together by their necks; day after day, eight or more hours at a time, they would stagger barefoot over thorny underbrush, dried reeds, and stones. Hardship, thirst, brutalities, and near starvation penetrated the experience of each exhausted man and woman who reached the coast." [59, p.99]

Upon arriving at the coast, the captives were crowded into pens until they could be examined and purchased. Those rejected would be abandoned to starvation. Those accepted would be branded, given numbers, and put on shipboard to await the "Middle Passage" -- the trip across the Atlantic.

Some ships spent six months trying to fill their holds with their "black cargo." The trip across the Atlantic added another few months to the time spent on shipboard. Conditions on shipboard have been vividly portrayed by diaries preserved from that time:

" . . . The height, sometimes, between decks, was only eighteen inches; so that the unfortunate human beings could not turn around, or even on their sides, the elevation being less than the breadth of their shoulders; and here they are usually chained to the decks by the neck and legs. In such a place the sense of misery and suffocation is so great, that the Negroes . . . are driven to frenzy. They had on one occasion, taken a slave vessel in the river Bonny. . . . They heard a horrid din and tumult among them, and could not imagine from what cause it proceeded. They opened the hatches and turned them up on deck. . . . Their horror may be well conceived, when they found a number of them in different stages of suffocation; many of them were foaming at the mouth, and in the last agonies, -- many were dead. . . . Many unfortunate creatures, on other occasions, took the first opportunity of leaping overboard, and getting rid, in this way, of an intolerable life." [Rev. Walsh, cited 183, pp.24f.]

Another author reported:

"The stench below was so great that it was impossible to stand more than a few minutes near the hatchways. Our men who went below from curiosity, were forced up sick in a few minutes; when all the hatches were off. What must have been the sufferings of those poor wretches, when the hatches were closed! . . . None but an eye witness can form a conception of the horrors these poor creatures must endure in their transit across the ocean." [Cited in 183, pp.25f.]

The arrival in the New World was not to put an end to these frightful experiences:

" . . . The arrival in port was announced in advance by the firing of a gun, and the crowd of purchasers rushed upon the ship and manhandled the frightened Negroes lined up for in-

spection. . . . The Negroes desired were marked out by the would-be purchaser by some sign, and the frightened, naked creatures were looked over, measured, felt, and haggled about like cattle at any market, and finally sold to some purchaser, who would then decorate his prize with a hat and a handkerchief and march him off to be branded. [183, p.28]

The Negro was thus prepared to begin life anew in the New World. It is difficult to know precisely how many Negroes were thus transported, and what the toll in human suffering and death may have been. Some scholars suggest that the slave traders may have transported 13,000,000, others suggest 20,000,000. Some estimate that about a third of the Negroes died during the trip to the coast and while waiting at the embarkation stations, and that another third died crossing the ocean and in the "seasoning." [183, pp.28ff.] Whatever the estimates, there can be little doubt that the capture and transport of slaves was a traumatic experience in the lives of the Negroes involved. This trauma, itself, served to detach the Negro from his African heritage. Not that these traumatic experiences caused the captives to forget their past -- they merely rendered the past meaningless. The old attitudes, beliefs, standards, behavior patterns -- they no longer furnished guidance or assistance for adjusting to completely new life expectations.\* This series of traumas thus served to detach the Negro from his African past, and to create something of a tabula rasa upon which subsequent experience could be etched. It prepared him to be socialized into a totally new role, a new way of life, in the New World.

The roots of the past are not just preserved and transmitted

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\* Perhaps the closest modern experience to the capture and transport of the Negro slaves can be found in the concentration camps of Germany. Elkins provides a stimulating analysis of the parallel psychological consequences of the African Negroes and the victims of the concentration camps. [59, pp.103-133] For descriptions of the consequences of the concentration camps, cf. [14, 38, 109].

through the lives of individuals. They are preserved, affirmed, and transmitted in the lives of families and, in the case of Africa, within the framework of the tribe. The slave traders made a conscious effort to destroy the family and tribal affiliations. They counted upon the variety of tribes, the diversity of languages and the consequent inability of Negroes of different tribes to communicate with one another, as a means of minimizing the danger of insurrections on shipboard. Thus Elkins quotes a writer of the Eighteenth Century as advising: "the safest way is to trade with the different Nations, on either side of the River, and having some of every Sort on board, there will be no more likelihood of their succeeding in a Plot, than of finishing the tower of Babel." [59, p.91]

How systematic and successful the slave traders were in separating families is difficult to ascertain. Clearly, the heavy death toll itself served to detach many individuals from their families. Perhaps typical of the results is the record of four slave ships arriving in New Orleans in 1834 and 1835. Among the 646 slaves these ships transported, 396 were owned by one firm and detailed records are available. [183, pp.78ff.] There were only 2 families, 20 husbandless mothers with 33 children, and 337 were single. Even if the family arrived intact, there was no guarantee it would remain together. Typical of the advertisements of the period was one appearing in the New Orleans Bee:

"NEGROES FOR SALE. -- A negro woman, 24 years of age, and her two children, one eight and the other three years old. Said negroes will be sold separately or together, as desired. The woman is a good seamstress. She will be sold low for cash, or exchanged for groceries. For terms, apply to Matthew Bliss & Co., 1 Front Levee." [183, p.77]

However, the traumatic separation from Africa and the break-up of family and tribal affiliations, cannot account fully for the thor-

ough separation of the Negro American from his African past. These same experiences were presumably shared by the slaves arriving in Latin America during the same period. Yet much more of the African culture appears to have survived among Latin American Negroes. In Brazil it is not uncommon to encounter religions and cults, folklore, social institutions, habits, and practices transplanted from Africa. [150, 158] In the United States, once one rejects the mythological stereotypes of the African Negro as ignorant and indolent, it is difficult indeed to find traces of an African cultural past. Thus one must conclude that the transportation of the African Negro did not in itself result in a complete detachment from African culture. Rather, it might be interpreted as greatly reducing the probability of preserving the African past. The separation of the individual from his family and tribe greatly reduced the likelihood that he could preserve and transmit his cultural heritage from one generation to the next. The trauma of the passage facilitated the Negroes' complete socialization into a new culture and way of life in America. It is then the differences in experiences of Negroes in the United States and those in Latin America that must account for the comparative thoroughness of the separation of the American Negro from his African culture.

#### Socialization of the Negro in America

Perhaps the single feature that distinguished American slavery from other forms of slavery was the near absolute power of the master. The traditional types of institutions for preserving a cultural tradition -- family, religion, education, law, etc. -- all concentrated power in the hands of the master, thereby providing additional means for the separation of the slave from his African past.\* In other words, under

\* Comparisons of the slave systems in the United States and Latin America can be found in [59, 183].

the American slave system, no institutional forms or personal improvisations for preserving the African culture were permitted.

In the first place, the family, the primary instrument of socialization in most societies, had no legal status or integrity within the American slave system. "The relation of master and slave is wholly incompatible with even the qualified relation of husband and wife, as it is supposed to exist among slaves. . . ." read a court ruling of 1858. "The relation between slaves is essentially different from that of man and wife joined in lawful wedlock . . . (for) with slaves it may be dissolved at the pleasure of either party, or by the sale of one or both, depending on the caprice or necessity of the owners." [33, 93] Children, as the property of the master, could be separated from the mother and sold at will.\* The father of a slave child had no standing before the law. Indeed, "'the father of a slave is unknown to our law' [69] was the universal understanding of Southern jurists. It was thus that a father, among slaves, was legally 'unknown,' a husband without the rights of his bed, the state of marriage defined as 'only that concubinage . . . with which alone, perhaps, their condition is compatible,' and motherhood clothed in the scant dignity of the breeding function." [178]

The education of slaves was forbidden. Every state in the South, except Maryland and Kentucky, had enacted laws forbidding the teaching of reading and writing to slaves.\*\* In North Carolina it was

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\* Perhaps the closest to a meaningful exception to this was a Louisiana law forbidding the separation of children under 10 from their mothers.

\*\* In the North, free Negroes often exhibited an eagerness for learning. Thus in Washington, D.C., 52 schools for Negro children were established between 1807 and 1861, and 40 of these were founded and

even illegal for a slave to have a Bible. It was believed that "teaching slaves to read and write tends to dissatisfaction in their minds, and to produce insurrection and rebellion." [78, p.321]

Religious instruction was not always forbidden to the slave, but the conditions of instruction were always regulated by the masters of the slaves, and not the church. Religion was not to be an instrument of education, or for saving souls. Rather, it was perceived as an instrument for assuring compliance of the Negro.

Negro man (ca. 1850's): "The niggers didn't go to the church building; the preacher came and preached to them in their quarters. He'd just say, 'Serve your masters. Don't steal your master's turkey. Don't steal your master's chickens. Don't steal your master's hogs. Don't steal your master's meat. Do whatsoever your master tells you to do.' Same old thing all the time." [Cited 54, p.31]

Numerous constraints were set by law or the practice of the slave owners to assure that religion might not serve some other purpose than instilling a sense of duty to the master. Typical of the rules established were those forbidding Negro preachers, prohibiting meetings before sunrise or after sunset, and forbidding meetings without the presence of the master or overseer. [59, pp.60f.; 183, pp.86ff.]

What stands out here as the unique feature of American slavery is the near absolute authority and power of the master. The institutions of society which normally afford some protection to its members -- the

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run by Negroes. In Baltimore, for example, there existed the "Young Men's Mental Improvement Society"; in Pittsburgh there was the "Young Men's Literary and Moral Reform Society". Almost every Northern city and many villages with any number of Negroes had literary societies which provided forums for literary debate and provided libraries and reading rooms. However, most of the Negroes that participated in these activities had already been separated from their African past by at least a generation of slavery. Furthermore, and more important, the form and content of these educational opportunities was American, not African. [175, pp.102f.]



state, the church, the courts, the schools, and the family -- all had vested much of their normal authority in the slave master. The master's power was real, and it was exercised. [176, pp.141-191] The master's aim was to create a slave, and a slave system, which would serve his ends. The preservation of an African cultural past would have threatened these ends. It would have allowed the slave an identity other than that of complete subservience and it may have permitted a group cohesiveness that could have led to "insurrection or rebellion." Separating families, forbidding education, and controlling religious instruction and other types of group gatherings served both to prohibit the slave the means for preserving his cultural traditions and to illustrate the power that might be exercised in other domains to control the socialization of the slaves. Whether masters exercised their power benevolently or cruelly, it is clear that they demanded absolute obedience -- the complete surrender of an African identity and the complete acceptance of the identity of Negro American slave. The absolute power of the slave master permitted him to achieve this demand.

The absolutism, the concentration of power in the hands of the slave master in the American slave system, is starkly etched when contrasted with the slave system that existed in the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Latin America. [59, 183, 150, 158] In Latin America, the church insisted on the sacraments and clearly considered the slave as a person. The master had an obligation to protect the spiritual integrity of the slave. If the slave was married, the church endowed the family with dignity and responsibility.\* The state, also, might intervene be-

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\* For example, "slaves could marry against the will of their masters if they continued serving him as before. Once married, they could not be sold apart, except under conditions permitting them to live

tween the slave and his master more readily. Furthermore the system was more open. The slaves were guaranteed the right to some time to work outside the slave system, to earn wages, and to purchase their freedom. There were Negro priests, Negro bishops, Negroes in public office -- Negroes were commonly accepted as equals among whites. Finally, the more open system of Latin America was more permissive of the African culture that the Negroes brought with them, and many elements of the African past are apparent in Latin America even today.

These differences evolved as a consequence of fundamentally different concepts of the slave in the United States and in Latin America. The Latin American concept of slavery evolved over many centuries, and its roots are found in the Justinian law and Mediterranean legal mores. In this tradition all men were considered equal. The condition of slavery was viewed as an accident of history and an individual misfortune; free men might have been slaves. Slavery was treated much like serfdom -- as a contractual arrangement with mutual obligations between slave and master.

In contrast, the United States had no such tradition or institutional history for dealing with slavery. In fact, such institutional arrangements would have been difficult to reconcile with the American constitution, a contract for free and equal men. Ironically, the incompatibility of slavery and the constitution may have been responsible for forcing slavery outside the normal institutional safeguards of society -- the church, the state, and the law. It was less a compromise of

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as man and wife. . . . If married slaves owned by separate masters could not live together because of distance, the church should persuade one or the other to sell his slave. If neither of the masters could be persuaded, the church was to buy one of them so that the married slaves could live together." [183, p.49]

the American creed if these institutions ignored rather than mediated the relationship between the slave and the master in a humane way. It was less a contradiction if the slaves were considered outside the normal social system. Slavery would be more readily rationalized in a "free and democratic" society if slaves were considered as innately inferior and therefore outside the system, and if the power for dealing with the slaves was left largely outside the democratic institutions of society -- within the hands of the slave owners. Such concentration of power with the slave masters permitted the relative "totalism" of the American slave system.

The "totalism" of the Southern slave system thoroughly "de-Africanized" the American Negro and thoroughly "Americanized" him. Not that he was Americanized in the same manner as the white American -- yet he was a thoroughly American product. Unlike the European immigrants who brought strong cultural traditions with them, the American Negro had been completely stripped of his past and severed from any culture except that which he acquired in the United States.\* In the words of the Negro

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\* In the early years of the nation, around 1800, about 10% of the Negroes were living in the North as free men. They often tried to distinguish themselves from the slaves by calling themselves African and establishing such institutions as the "African Baptist Church", the "African Lodge of Masons", The African Methodist Episcopal Church", or the "Free African Schools". However, such identification with Africa was in name only. The institutions made no attempt to discover or preserve African culture. Rather, they were Negro adaptations of the American Baptists, Masons, Episcopalians, or the American free schools. Indeed, that "African" prefaced such distinctly American institutions indicates how far removed these Northern Negroes were from Africa. Furthermore, by 1830, "African" had fallen into disrepute. Free Negroes were by that time gladly rejecting any African identity because (1) several whites had organized a "back to Africa" movement and the Negro wanted to be considered citizens of America, and (2) they had accepted the white stereotypes of Africans as barbarians and savages in contrast to the civilized Western civilization.

leader, W.E.B. Du Bois, "there is nothing so indigenous, so completely 'made in America' as we." [56, pp.130f.]

The Negro author, Ralph Ellison, has articulated this same sense of American identity.

"The whole problem about whether there is a Negro culture might be cleared up if we said that there were many idioms of American culture, including, certainly, a Negro idiom of American culture in the South. We can trace it in many, many ways. We can trace it in terms of speech idioms, in terms of manners, in terms of dress, in terms of cuisine, and so on. But it is American, and it has existed a long time."

And Ellison carries his discussion beyond this point:

"One concept that I wish we would get rid of is the concept of a main stream of American culture. . . . I do not think that America works that way at all. I would remind us that before there was a United States, a nation, or a form of a state, there were Negroes in the colonies. The interaction among the diversified cultural groups helped to shape whatever it is we are who call ourselves Americans. This, I think, is a very important distinction to make." [185, pp.415,414]

Negro American identity goes much deeper than the "contributions" of such Negroes as Jackie Robinson, Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, or Ralph Bunche to American culture. Indeed, just as America is an inseparable part of the Negro's identity in the United States, so is the Negro an inseparable part of the American identity. American history and the present conditions of American society intimately link the white and the Negro. In the early years of this country, one in five residents were Negro. Negro labor helped build America. More important, the working out of the relationships between Negro and white fundamentally affected the institutions and the history of this country -- shaping both Negro and white. The Civil War is inconceivable without the Negro in America, and American history is inconceivable without the Civil War. The consequences of the Civil War are a part of today's events. America is still trying to work out the relationships between Negro and white,

and these efforts are of consequence to America -- the shaping of an American identity -- both at home and in international affairs.

To think of the Negro in America in terms of the contributions of a few prominent Negroes simply misses the point.\* All Negroes are American. The thorough "Americanization" of the Negro in the United States is clearly revealed by comparing the cultural expressions found in the Negro ghetto with those found in other ethnic enclaves. Such factors as language, food, religion, or music which differentiate one group from another might be examined.

In the Negro ghetto one would not expect to find any language other than English (or American?) spoken. The language may differ from the predominant version of English spoken elsewhere -- it may have a distinctive rhythm, syntax, and vocabulary. But these differences do not have roots outside of the United States. They have evolved in the United States, and often the "hip" language of the ghetto finds its way quickly into the "mainstream" of American slang. Conversely, if the familiar English language is not heard in other ethnic areas, it is more likely to be Italian, Polish, Yiddish, or any number of other languages -- foreign languages rather than an American slang.

The same is true of food. American cities abound in Italian, Chinese, Mexican, or French restaurants. In Italian areas, for example, the markets will be filled with Italian imports, or their American imitations. In contrast, in the Negro areas there is no African cuisine. If there is a distinctive diet in Northern Negro ghettos, it is the re-

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\* This has been the trend in the recent "enlightened" textbooks on American history. It is certainly psychologically more comfortable to think of those Negroes who triumphed over a system of racism than it is to acknowledge the role of race prejudice in American history.

gional specialities of the South -- fried chicken, greens, or hominy grits. It is American.

The same pattern is evidenced in religion. Variations from the predominant denominational practices in America originated in America. Unlike the Irish or Italians, for example, who have their "ethnic" saints of European origin, the Negro Americans do not have their African saints or Gods. Their distinctive "storefront" churches and religious practices evolved in the United States.

If there is a distinctive Negro music, it is that of the blues or jazz. These also evolved in the United States, and indeed, have often come to be considered as distinctly American music. The recitation of such familiar and obvious information may appear trivial. However, it is of deep significance to the Negro American. It serves to illustrate and underscore that those differences from the "mainstream" of American life found in the Negro ghetto are products of life in America, whereas those found in other ethnic enclaves are more likely products from abroad. If there is such a thing as a Negro culture in the ghetto, it is a decidedly American culture, it has been created in America more completely than that of any other immigrant group.

The Negro American has no viable cultural alternative to an American identity. In fact, it is precisely because he is American that he has the inescapable difficulty of reconciling his own sense of worth with the American ascription of Negro inferiority. The Negro author, James Baldwin, expresses this clearly:

"I remember coming home from school, you can guess how young I must have been, and my mother asked me if my teacher was colored or white, and I said she was a little bit colored and a little bit white. . . . And as a matter of fact I was right. That's part of the dilemma of being an American Negro; that one is a little bit colored and a little bit white, and not

only in physical terms but in the head and heart, and there are days -- this is one of them -- when you wonder what your role is in this country and what your future is in it; how precisely you are going to reconcile it to your situation here and how you are going to communicate to the vast headless, unthinking, cruel white majority, that you are here. And to be here means that you can't be anywhere else. I could, my own person, leave this country and go to Africa, I could go to China, I could go to Russia, I could go to Cuba, but I'm an American and that is a fact." [Cited 36, pp.5f.]

The Negro social scientist, Kenneth Clark states:

"An inescapable reality is the fact that the American Negro is inextricably American. In spite of the psychological appeals of identification with Africa, and the temporary props to a sagging ego which can be found in occasional discussions and seminars about 'our African heritage', the American Negro is no more African than he is Danish, or Irish, or Indian. He is American. His destiny is one with the destiny of America. His culture is the culture of Americans. His vices and virtues are the vices and virtues of Americans. His dilemmas are essentially the dilemmas of Americans. He cannot escape this stark fact, in spite of understandable attempts to evade the bitter reality that he has been treated, more often than not, as an alien in his own land."\* [37, p.219]

The goals and activities of the civil rights movement underscore how inescapably American the American Negro is.\*\* Thus Whitney Young, executive director of the National Urban League, identifies the goal of the civil rights movement as "securing first-class citizenship for all Americans now." [246, p.104] Martin Luther King states: "The Negro is an American. We know nothing of Africa. . . . This is a revolution to get in . . . it's a revolution calling on the nation to live up to what is already there in an idealistic sense." [Cited 232, pp.216,

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\* This is not to argue that the recent rise of free nations in Africa has not been important to the American Negro. It may be extremely significant as a disclaimer of innate racial inferiority, but it cannot contribute a realistic African identity for the American Negro. For a good discussion of the impact of Africa upon the American Negro's self-concept, cf. [98].

\*\* For a summary of the goals of the various Civil Rights Organizations, cf. [114].

218, emphasis added] Ralph Ellison states: "Thus we are determined to bring America's conduct into line with its professed ideals. . . . Negroes are forcing the confrontation between the nation's conduct and its ideal, and they are most American in that they are doing so." [Cited 232, p.339] That racial discrimination created a fundamental problem for American democracy has long been recognized. [139] That the Negro leadership would respond to the problem of racial discrimination by being "more American than white Americans" -- by confronting America with her ideals -- is significant.

Public opinion polls demonstrate that the mass of Negroes shares this sense of identification with America -- shares this American identity. The overwhelming majority of Negroes stated that they would fight for America, and the majority of these explained their position was based upon the belief that "It's home, don't know any other country, I was born here" and "This is my country." In answer to the question if Negroes wanted to form their own separate state in the United States or in Africa, only 4 percent of the rank and file and 1 percent of the leaders said they did.\* This is in spite of the belief of the majority of Negroes that they are second class citizens -- that they receive less pay for comparable work and pay higher rents for

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\* It is interesting, and relevant to this point, to note that the major Negro separatist movement today argues for a separate state in the United States rather than a return to Africa, and while often rejecting their "American" names and Christianity, they nonetheless emulate the American middle-class values and behavior patterns. Thus Muhammed Speaks, the movement's newspaper, exhorted the members to "Observe the operations of the white man. He is successful. He makes no excuses for his failures. He works hard. . . . You do the same." [Cited 148, p.85] Rather than separation being a rejection of the "American way of life", it is perceived as the only means for Negroes to behave as other Americans. Thus one Muslim minister explains the goals of the movement: "To get the white man's foot off my neck, his hand out of my pocket and his carcass off my back." [Cited 119, p.27]



comparable housing than do whites. [24, pp.199f., 119, 55, 59] In short, the Negro feels himself a part of, and identifies with, a society in which he also feels he is not allowed to participate in fully and in which he is considered an inferior.

#### Negro as Inferior and Separate as Unequal

That the Negro slave was considered inferior hardly needs to be belabored. However, the impact of the institution of slavery was so pervasive, that merely freeing the Negro was not at all the same thing as conferring upon him equal status with whites. Abraham Lincoln, the Great Emancipator himself, before he became President, expressed his beliefs thus:

"I will say then that I am not, nor ever have been in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races . . . and I will say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality. And inasmuch as they cannot so live, while they do remain together, there must be the position of superior and inferior and I as much as any other man am in favor of having the superior position assigned to the white race." [Cited 175, pp.92f.]

In his inaugural address he stated:

"I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery, in the states where it now exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so." [Cited 190, p.23]

After he had decided to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, he stated:

"My paramount objective in this struggle is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it. . . . What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do not believe it would help to save the Union." [Cited 190, p.24]

The Emancipation Proclamation was not intended to assure

equality for the Negro and, despite the efforts of many Northern liberals, it did not serve to achieve that end.

The years immediately following the Civil War were years of rapid progress for the Negroes. However, this progress was forced upon the South by Northern reformers and militia. As Northern insistence lessened, Southern resistance to reform increased. With slavery abolished, the South had to evolve new institutions to assure the Negro's inferior status in society. Separation of the races became the accepted mode of enforcing inequality.

The first segregation laws applied to passenger trains. When a Louisiana resident, "one-eighth African blood", boarded a coach reserved for whites, this led to his arrest, conviction, and the historic United States Supreme Court case of Plessy v. Ferguson. The court ruled that legislative separation of the races was legal. Justice Brown, in writing the majority opinion, argued:

"Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences and to attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. . . . If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them on the same plane . . ." [151]

Private acts and public laws segregating the races quickly followed. A sampling of these laws gives some indication of their ingenuity and pervasiveness.\* In various states segregation laws covered passenger trains, street cars, hospitals, residential housing, and housing for the aged, the indigent, orphans, the blind, the deaf, and the dumb. Some of the laws for penal institutions and mental hospitals spelled out in detail proscriptions for the housing, working, feeding,

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\* The segregation laws are elaborated in the able discussion by C. Vann Woodward. [244]

transportation, and chaining of prisoners. In a South Carolina code of 1915, not only couldn't Negro and white employees work in the same room, but they were forbidden to use the same entrances, pay windows, exits, doorways, stairways, lavatories, toilets, drinking water buckets, pails, cups, dippers, or glasses at any time.

A Louisiana law of 1914 even covered circuses, tent shows, and side shows, and required separate entrances, exits, ticket windows, and ticket sellers that would be kept at least twenty-five feet apart. The city of Birmingham applied the law to "any room, hall, theatre, picture house, auditorium, yard, court, ball park, or other indoor or outdoor place," specifying that the races be "distinctly separated . . . by well defined physical barriers." [244, pp.84f.] The Oklahoma legislature required the telephone companies to maintain separate booths for whites and Negroes. North Carolina and Florida required that textbooks in the public schools should be kept separated for Negroes and whites. Atlanta courts had separate Bibles for Negro and white witnesses. There was a proliferation of signs indicating "Whites Only" or "Colored". Sometimes the law prescribed their dimensions, in inches. In one case, it even specified the kind and color of paint.

The near pathological insistence of the separation of the races evidenced in these laws and their accompanying practices placed a meaning upon segregation for the Negro that was quite different from that experienced by any other minority group. There was no doubt that separate meant unequal -- and not only in the facilities or opportunities provided. For the Negro, separation is the symbolic reminder and practical assurance of racial inferiority. For the American Negro, segregation has an especially vivid significance. In psychological terms, separate is inherently unequal.

This is not to argue in terms of historical necessity. The meaning of segregation, as any other social institution or practice, is continually defined anew -- though never in complete independence from the past. Perhaps historical meaning may best be conceived as heavily weighing and emotionally charging the day-to-day evidence which give meaning to today's institutions and practices.\* Thus, before the historical meaning of segregation is likely to change, it will be necessary for day-to-day evidence contradicting the historical meaning to far outweigh that confirming that segregation is equivalent to inferiority for the Negro American.\*\*

Such overwhelming contravening evidence is yet to be forthcoming. The daily newspapers are a constant reminder of the continuing white resistance to the Negro's struggle for equality. Much that is not even considered newsworthy in the big city dailies appears in the Negro newspapers and the Negro radio stations existing in most large cities. The Civil Rights Movement is a national movement now, and events that affect the Negroes in one city may be known in other Negro communities throughout the nation while never being known in the white community in

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\* This is not to say that the historical evidence is precise and detailed in the minds of the typical Negro. Indeed, it is likely that the historical evidence may be present as an emotional response, a diffuse feeling towards facts long forgotten. Such emotions or feelings, though, may be more salient and more real to the subject than any collection of historical "facts". As such, emotions and feelings are "evidence" which have consequence for the attitudes and behavior of everyone. They may be more persistent and resistant to change than "objective facts".

\*\* It is conceivable that a small segment of the Negro community may utilize segregation as an opportunity to assume "superior" status -- a status, in fact, that they may not have been able to achieve in an integrated community. While such a group may be noted, it presently constitutes such a small segment of the Negro community that it is not considered in the following discussion. [68, 163]

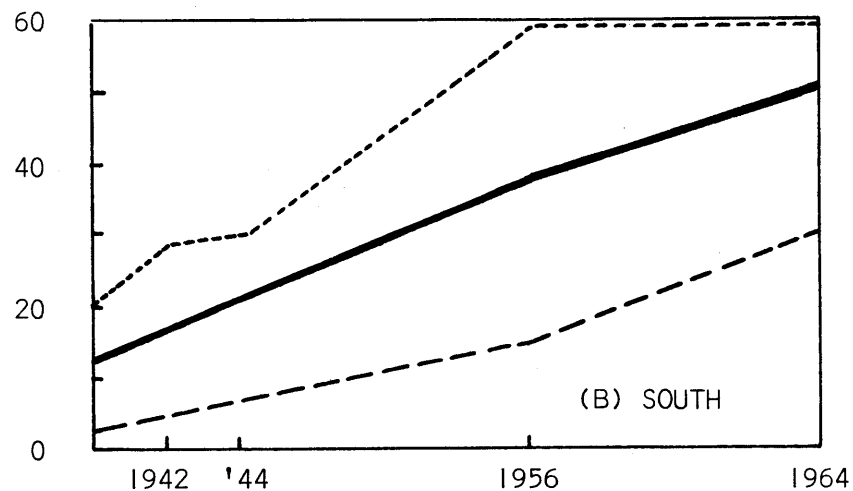
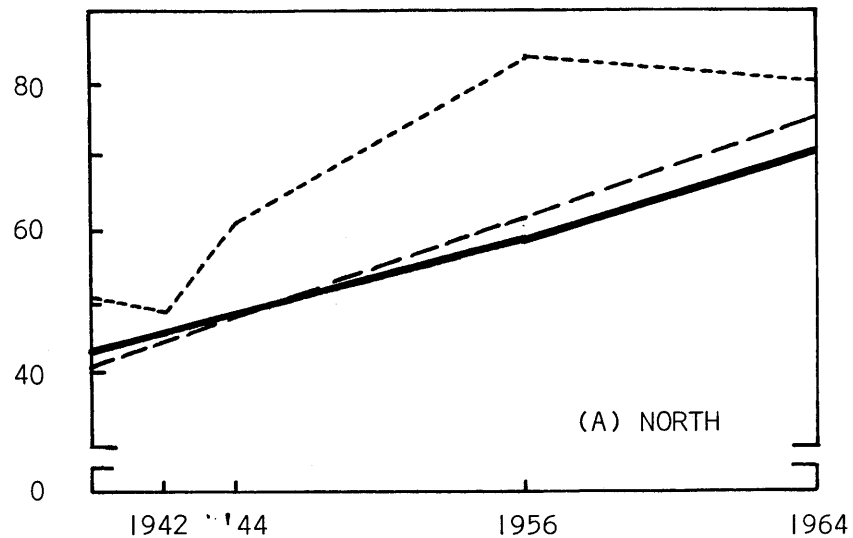
the same city in which the events may have occurred.

The "word" that spreads along these elaborate and informal networks is apt to be a blending of fact and fantasy and it is apt to be highly selective. Negroes, like whites, will tend to listen to, believe, and pass on that information that confirms their previous beliefs. However, such selection and possible distortion of information does not mean that Negroes are deceiving themselves when they believe that they are living in a society in which many believe Negroes to be inferior to whites and that the two races should consequently be kept separate.

The national opinion polls provide some indication of, at least, what people say they believe. The question often repeated on these polls, that perhaps provides the best measure of beliefs of Negro inferiority asks: "in general, do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people -- that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training?" In 1944, less than 30 percent of Southern whites and less than 50 percent of Northern whites believed that Negroes were potentially as intelligent as whites. By the mid-fifties, opinion had changed somewhat, and just under 60 percent of Southern whites and about 85 percent of Northern whites acknowledged that, with similar opportunities, Negroes might be as intelligent as whites. Polls taken up to 1965 have indicated little progress beyond this point. Furthermore, and not surprisingly, as beliefs in Negro inferiority have lessened, favorable attitudes towards desegregation have become more prevalent. Thus in 1942, fewer than 60 percent of Northern whites were in favor of integrated public transport, schools, or residential neighborhoods. By 1963 the situation had improved substantially. In the North, between 1942 and 1963 support for integrated schools increased from 40 percent to 75 percent; those supporting integrated public transport increased

26 PUBLIC OPINION ON RACE AND SEGREGATION IN THE UNITED STATES,  
BY REGION: 1942-1964

Percent



- Agree, "In general, do you think Negroes are as intelligent as white people--that is, can they learn things just as well if they are given the same education and training?"
- No, "If a Negro with the same income and education as you moved into your block, would it make any difference to you?"
- - - - Same, "Do you think white students and Negro students should go to the same schools or to separate schools?"

Source: [95, 96]

from 57 percent to 88 percent; and those supporting integrated neighborhoods increased from 42 percent to 70 percent. [95, 96]

The millenium has obviously not been ushered in. Another large national survey in 1963 indicated that whereas most whites agreed that Negroes were not inferior and did not have less native intelligence, the majority of white Americans still felt that Negroes tend to have less ambition, that they smell different, and have looser morals. [24, pp.138-141] Some of the comments of the respondents were recorded at the time. Thus a 56 year old Detroit man noted: "There was a good Negro living around here and my boy shook hands with him and then he turned his hand over and looked at it and the Negro said, 'it won't rub off on you.' I never forgot that. It's the idea of rubbing up against them. It won't rub off but it don't feel right, either." A Pennsylvania housewife commented: "I don't like to have to touch them, it just makes me squeamish. I know I shouldn't be that way but it still bothers me." An elderly resident in California noted: "They're human beings the same as the rest of us. Why should you feel uncomfortable with anyone not of the Caucasian race? I've even square danced with them." A young man from East Springfield, Massachusetts explained: "I feel as though I can't trust them. I think they'll start a fight. I might pick up some type of disease." A Michigan housewife qualified her feelings: "I don't mind them unless they are very dark or if they're very odorous." The comments of Southerners were often less equivocal. [24, pp.138-141]

The language of the dialogue between Negroes and whites may have changed, but the Negro still interprets it as the ascription by whites of his inferiority. He may not be thought of as innately inferior any more, but he is still thought of by the majority of white

Americans as lazy, having a distinctive odor, and immoral. It is commonly believed that neighborhoods will deteriorate if Negroes move in, or that schools will decline in achievement levels as the population shifts from white to Negro.\* To the Negro, the enlightened white Northern designation of "culturally deprived" may indicate that he is no longer innately or biologically inferior, but rather that he is merely culturally inferior.\*\* Such distinctions, though important for policy implications, serve more to soothe the liberal white's conscience than to improve the Negro's self-concept. Furthermore, "cultural deprivation" has been linked to the "neighborhood school" to provide a modern educational rationale for maintaining a segregated school system, affirming again for the Negro that segregation and inferior status are intimately associated. In this context, it should be noted that in a national sampling of Negroes, less than 40 percent thought that Northern white attitudes towards Negroes were better than Southern. The most common explanations were "attitudes same, laws different," "whites are whites", and "white Southerners more honest about prejudice." [24, pp.228f.]

In all likelihood, for the Negro the meaning of segregation,

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\* The decline in neighborhoods as a result of Negro "invasion" has been systematically studied, and disproved, though it is still a common belief. While schools may decline as the percentage of Negro students increases, there is evidence to suggest that this may be more a consequence of education policy than student ability. Finally, more sophisticated analysts argue that these results are consequences of changes in the socio-economic class of neighborhoods and schools, rather than the consequence of racial change. However, such fine academic distinctions offer little consolation to a Negro, of whatever class, when he is refused access to neighborhoods or schools because it is believed they will deteriorate as a result of his presence.

\*\* That some white children may also be classified as "culturally deprived" is of little consequence to the rank-and-file Negro. He knows that most Negroes are considered in this category whereas at most, a minority of whites are considered as culturally deprived.



whether de facto or de jure, is essentially the same. Historical events have given a vividness to the interdependence of ascribed Negro inferiority and racial segregation that current events have failed to deny. The Negro ghetto thus has a meaning, both to the Negro inhabitants and the rest of society, that sets it apart from the "ghetto experience" of other immigrant groups. For the Negro, the ghetto stigmatizes the group just as slavery had in a previous era, and the invisible walls of the ghetto act as the walls of a prison. Such a response to the ghetto experience is clearly portrayed in the recent statement of Mr. Dunmeyer while testifying before a committee of the U.S. Senate. Mr. Dunmeyer is a Negro who was born and raised in Central Harlem and who has been in prison several times. He told the committee: "Jail is on the street (of Harlem) just like it is on the inside (of prison). . . . You are in jail in the street or behind bars. It is the same thing, a matter of existing, and this thing of feeling like a person. . . ." [65, p.1095]

## THE GHETTO AS AN INFORMAL EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE

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The Negro does not need a lesson in history to understand the meaning of the ghetto. Growing up is a learning experience and growing up in a Negro ghetto is a special kind of learning experience. The educating experiences outside of school are often more decisive for an individual than are the formal educational opportunities at school. The family, the peer group, and the neighborhood provide the setting for many of the important learning experiences. Also, today, even the closest family and the most segregated neighborhood are penetrated by the mass media which project an image of the outside world, and which establish a basis of comparison between the ghetto world and the world beyond.

Growing up in the Negro ghetto provides certain inescapable learning experiences. The following attributes of the ghetto cannot go long unnoticed:

- Ghettoes are inhabited almost exclusively by Negroes.

To the young child the world may be perceived as inhabited by mostly Negroes. At a later age it will be clear that there are many whites and it will be important to know why Negroes do not live next to whites. It will not be long before the ghetto dweller suspects that he is not wanted in white America -- at least not next door to white Americans.

- Because of the wide socio-economic disparities between the Negro and white populations in the United States, the world of the Negro ghetto will clearly be inferior to the middle class world of white America portrayed in the mass media. These differences teach the Negro something of his place in America and provide him

with a basis for assessing the opportunities that may be available to him. Furthermore, because the prosperous world outside is portrayed as almost exclusively white, and the Negro ghetto world is almost exclusively nonwhite, the Negro is likely to infer that because of his skin color there may be something immutable about his position in society, that because of his color he will have a limited ability to control his destiny.

- As the ghetto dweller's family and neighbors also live in the ghetto and as they are undoubtedly aware of the disparities that exist between the colored ghetto and the white world outside, it is likely that they will reinforce his previous perceptions of his place in the American social system. Furthermore, as family, friends, and neighbors are also undoubtedly Negro, the normal range of social experiences will not serve to prepare the ghetto dweller for cooperation or competition in a multi-racial world. In the poorer areas of the ghetto -- there are also wealthy sections in most ghettos -- there will be little opportunity for contact with successful individuals which can provide patterns of behavior or seemingly realistic targets for accomplishment.

- Those whites who penetrate the invisible walls of the ghetto are primarily the shop keeper, the school teacher, the social worker, and the policeman. At night, only the white policeman remains in the area. These types of direct experiences that the ghetto dwellers have with white society are apt to be ones where the Negro is dependent and/or where the white is the authority figure. Such contact provides a narrow, but significant lesson about the nature of race relations.

All of these experiences teach that the color of one's skin makes a difference in where one lives, in expectations for achievement, and in relative status in inter-racial contact. These experiences of growing up in the Negro ghetto are fundamentally different from the experience of growing up in previous ethnic enclaves because differences based upon color are relatively unchangeable compared to those based upon national origin. The European immigrant could hope to acquire a new language and nationality, if not for himself, for his children. The Negro cannot expect to become white. The Negro came to America in chains, the white man came to escape his chains. The European immigrant could hope that his family would move towards economic prosperity within a couple of generations. The Negro has been in the United States for more than 8 generations, and he is still at the bottom. Furthermore, the European immigrant arrived in a comparatively poor nation where the differences between his own socio-economic status and that of the other segments of society were not large and were not constantly in evidence through direct experience or the mass media. In contrast, the Negro in today's ghetto suffers from poverty in a relatively affluent society, and these differences between his plight and the condition of most of the rest of America are constantly in evidence in all the mass media. Thus the differences between the Negro and the rest of American society are much more sharply etched than those existing between previous immigrant groups and the more settled Americans, and these differences appear much less subject to change. These are lessons that the Negro in the Negro ghetto learns and which are bound to have an important impact upon his adjustment to life in America today.

Furthermore, the presence of an involuntary Negro ghetto af-

fects the life of Negroes living outside the ghetto. The ghetto serves as a constant reminder that although those living outside may have escaped its physical confines, they are still living in a society where other Negroes are confined because they are colored. The very presence of an involuntary ghetto serves to alter the relationships of Negroes living outside of the ghetto with their white neighbors and with other Negroes who still live in the ghetto. The maintenance of the ghetto teaches everyone that the color of one's skin makes a difference. This lesson is learned not only by Negroes inside and outside the ghetto, but by white Americans.

## THE GHETTO AND FORMAL EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

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Schools also provide learning experiences. However, the schools in the ghettos of Nineteenth Century America did not have the significance that ghetto schools have today. Before 1900 less than 10 percent of the population were receiving a high school education. By the 1960's, more than 90 percent of the population were receiving some high school education. [220, p.14] At the turn of the century, entry into the world of work was not contingent upon a good education. There was a large demand for unskilled workers, and at that time the will to work was sufficient for obtaining a job. In today's modern industrial economy, education is more and more perceived as a necessary bridge to the world of work. As jobs become more complex, the demands for education become more clear. Furthermore, with a labor surplus, employers will select the better educated, even when the job does not require it. In 1900 hardly anybody had a high school education. Now a high school diploma is virtually a prerequisite for obtaining work. The increasingly important relationship between education and life-opportunities is clearly reflected in income. Among males 25 years old and over, the difference in annual mean income between an elementary school education and a college diploma in 1939 was about \$1,600; in 1949 it was about \$3,700; and by 1961 it was well over \$6,000. [220, p.125] The school has thus become a major instrument through which society manages the status and life-chances of the individual. When schools serve particular groups -- the poor, the rich, the Negro, the Mexican American, the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant, the Catholic -- they may serve to assign the status and life-chances for the group. Schools are thus major agencies of distributive justice, or injustice, in a modern economy.

Horace Mann, over one hundred years ago, perceived the schools as an important instrument of any democratic society, as "the great equalizer of the conditions of men." However, the schools in America are failing to serve as the "great equalizer." Studies in the public school systems in New York, Chicago, Boston, and Los Angeles indicate that the gap between Negro and white aptitude and achievement widens while the students are in school. [5, 126, 127, 136] A recent study of 600,000 students throughout the United States, the largest study of its kind ever undertaken, also found that disparities between Negro and white educational achievement widen during schooling. Harold Howe, U.S. Commissioner of Education, in commenting upon this study, stated that "whatever may be the combination of nonschool factors which put minority children at a disadvantage when they enter first grade . . . the schools have not only failed to make up the difference: they have let these youngsters slip further away from the mainstream of our national life." [Cited 65, p.346]

To what extent the failure of the schools is conditional upon residential segregation is difficult to determine. The web of circumstances that has led to the failure of the schools is complex, tangled, and difficult to unravel. Nonetheless, it is possible to identify a number of factors which are related to school achievement and to indicate something of the nature of the influence of residential segregation upon these factors.

The study of educational opportunity sponsored by the Office of Education provides the most thorough analysis of achievement factors available, although it does not deal with the issue of residential segregation directly. It may therefore be useful to begin this exploration

by identifying each of the factors correlated with achievement and defining in what manner residential segregation may be influential. The factors are, in descending order of importance: student attitude, family background, social composition of the school, teacher characteristics, and school facilities and curriculum.

#### Student Attitude

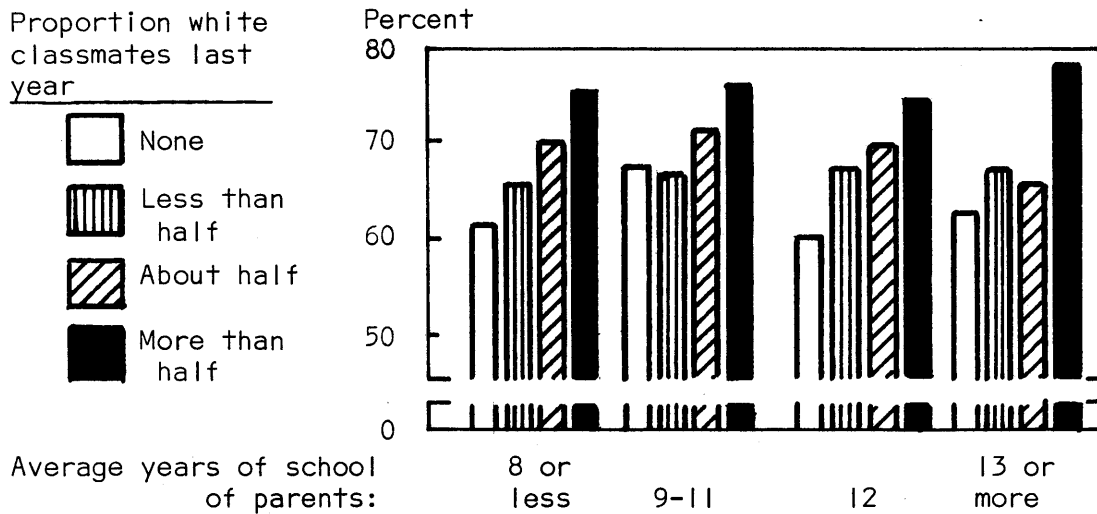
The study found that student attitudes were more closely associated with achievement than were all the family background factors or all the school factors. The study also found that, for children from advantaged groups, achievement appeared closely related to their self-concept as a student. In contrast for children from disadvantaged groups, achievement appears most closely related to their beliefs about their ability to control their environment: whether they believed that their environment would respond to reasonable efforts, or whether they believed it was uncontrollable. [40, p.321] Furthermore, the study found that these attitudes were not closely associated with family background -- including such characteristics as father present, parents' education, income, etc. -- but that there was a consistent correlation with school integration. As the proportion of white students in the school increases, the Negro child's sense of control of the environment increases. [40, pp.319-325]

It is not hard to understand that a student may achieve better academically if he believes that he can achieve better through his own efforts and if he believes that through his own efforts better academic achievement may lead to higher socio-economic achievement. It is also not hard to understand why the ghetto child may not hold these beliefs. In the first place, on the basis of objective evidence already

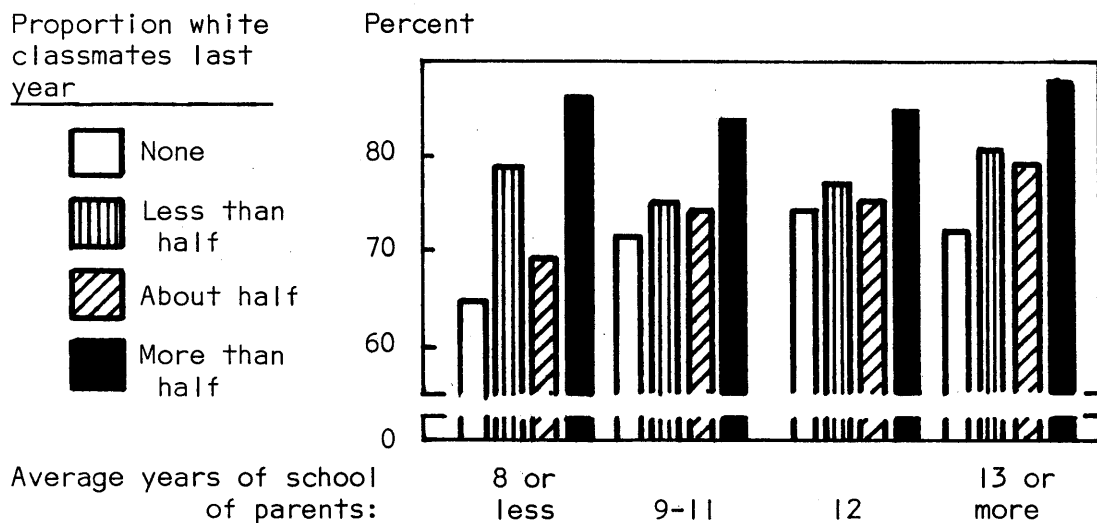


27 ATTITUDES OF 12TH GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NORTH-EAST, BY SEGREGATION AND PARENTS' AVERAGE EDUCATION: 1966

(A) PERCENT WHO DISAGREE THAT "PEOPLE LIKE ME DON'T HAVE MUCH OF A CHANCE TO BE SUCCESSFUL IN LIFE"



(B) PERCENT WHO DISAGREE THAT "GOOD LUCK IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN HARD WORK FOR SUCCESS"



Source: [192, Vol. 2, pp. 63, 65]

indicated, Negroes do not improve their job opportunities and income to anywhere near the same extent as do whites as a result of higher educational accomplishment. In the second place, as previously indicated, Negro teenage unemployment is very high in the ghetto. Furthermore, recent evidence suggests that Negro high school graduates are about as likely to be unemployed as Negro drop-outs. Third, the ghetto child learns through comparison between the ghetto and the world of the mass media that his skin color, which he cannot change, may predetermine, to a large extent, his life-chances. He learns that there are probably strict limits upon his ability to control his environment, even in the most elemental sense of moving into another neighborhood, as a consequence of his unalterable skin color. That an integrated school environment serves to enhance the child's sense of control over his environment suggests that an integrated neighborhood may also be an important influence. Of course, this does not imply that simply integrating the child's environment will, of itself, completely restore his sense of control over the environment, although it is likely to be an important ingredient.

#### Family Background

Family background variables, though substantially less important than student attitudes, were the second most important set of variables associated with academic achievement. Overall, family background variables were somewhat more closely correlated with academic achievement for white students than for Negro students. Also, it appeared that educationally related characteristics of the home -- such as parents' education and reading material available at home -- were more important for white children while the economic level of the family

was more significant among Negro children. In addition, parents' interest in and aspirations for their children's education were considerably more important in influencing the achievement of white children than of Negro children. [40, pp.298ff.]

These findings suggest that for the Negro child the economic circumstances of the family affect school achievement, though the specific nature of this relationship is not clear. The relationship between residential segregation and economic opportunity will be explored in the following section. For the moment let it suffice to say that there is an important relationship.

#### Student Body Characteristics

The study found that attributes of other students account for far more variation in the achievement of minority group children than do attributes of school facilities and slightly more than do attributes of staff. The study also found that academic achievement was more closely associated with student body characteristics for Negro students than for white students. Among Negro students this association is virtually absent up to the third grade, but it increases thereafter and is strongest at the ninth-to-twelfth grade level.

Two characteristics of the student body appear to be particularly relevant. First, regardless of a student's own family background, he achieves better in schools where most of his fellow students are from advantaged backgrounds than in schools where most of his fellow students are from disadvantaged backgrounds. Second, the study indicates that as the proportion of white students in a school increases, the achievement of Negro students increases. The study further finds that the improved achievement levels in integrated schools are not as-

sociated with better facilities and curriculum in these schools so much as the presence of more advantaged students in these schools. The study concludes: "If a large part of the effect of a school on a student is accounted for by the achievement level of other students in the school, then in a segregated system, if one group begins at an educationally impoverished level, it will tend to remain at that level." [40, p.310]

The impact of residential segregation upon the racial composition of the student body is clear. Because of the conventional dependence on the neighborhood school, even a city with a comparatively small ghetto area is likely to have highly segregated schools. For example, Boston, with slightly more than 10 percent of the population Negro, has about 80 percent of the Negro school children in schools in which the majority of pupils are Negro. [192, Vol.11, p.5] As the Negro ghettos grow, it becomes less likely that students will attend integrated schools. In New York City, for example, the proportion of minority students continues to increase. It is not surprising that a recent report by the Board of Education should note that: "Despite Open Enrollment, re-zoning, and associated efforts, segregation, city wide, has not been reduced. On the contrary, the overall level of segregation has increased." [256, p.5] Between 1960 and 1965 the Negro population in the New York public schools increased by nearly 50 percent; in Boston, it increased by more than 50 percent. Similar increases have been recorded in most of the large Northern cities. [111C-3, 111C-4] If Negroes continue to be confined to the central cities and to segregated areas within these cities, it is likely that public policy will not be able to diminish school segregation, except, perhaps, at extremely high economic and political costs.

Furthermore, those students included in the study who attended segregated schools probably lived in segregated neighborhoods. Therefore the characteristics of the student body also reflected the characteristics of the neighborhood associations. If students continued to live in segregated neighborhoods, but attended desegregated schools, the influence of neighborhood associations and school associations may work at cross purposes, and it is not at all clear what the results would be.

### Teacher Characteristics

The study finds that teacher characteristics are much more closely associated with the achievement level of Negro students than of white students, and that this effect becomes more pronounced as the student advances in school. The most important characteristics of teachers identified in this study were verbal skills, and the educational background of the teacher and the teacher's family. [40, pp.316-319] Unfortunately, no attempt was made to measure the racial attitudes or classroom behavior of the teachers.

A number of studies indicate that teachers prefer appointments in the better suburban schools, and that among inner city school teachers, most prefer serving in the high status white communities. [12, 86, 165] The results are that often the best teachers migrate to suburban and inner city white schools and that ghetto schools may suffer from a high teacher turnover and a larger percentage of uncertified and substitute teachers. [37, 80, 245] The Office of Education study supports such findings, indicating that Negro students are more likely than white students to have teachers with low verbal ability, to have substitute teachers, and to have teachers who are dissatisfied with their school assignment. [192, Vol.1, p.203]

A number of other studies indicate that teachers often adapt their expectations and norms of success to the background of their students and the composition of the student bodies. [12, 242] Studies in ghetto schools consistently indicate that teachers expect less from Negro children and consequently demand less of them. [37, 52] It is likely that the maintenance of the ghetto serves to reinforce these stereotypes and, consequently, to make effective teaching of Negro pupils more difficult.

#### School Curriculum and School Facilities

The study found that the characteristics of facilities and curriculum are much less highly related to achievement than are the attributes of a child's fellow students in school. Nonetheless, Negro achievement is somewhat more sensitive to variations in school curriculum and school facilities than is the achievement of white students, and the relationships between achievement and school curriculum and facilities become stronger in the later years. In general, when student background factors are controlled, there is a slight relationship between higher achievement and higher per pupil expenditure, a curriculum that offers greater challenges, more laboratories, and more activities. [40, pp.312-316] Negro students are found to be less likely to attend schools with well-stocked libraries and with advanced courses in such subjects as sciences and languages. They are more likely to be in overcrowded schools than are white students. [192, Vol.1, p.203] The study makes no attempt to distinguish between the presence of school facilities and their use or to distinguish between the formal curriculum and the actual transfer of information in the classroom.

These findings are extremely significant for ghetto schools.

They indicate that the mere increase in per pupil expenditure, the introduction of new curriculum, and the improvement of the physical facilities, without other types of changes in the school system, will contribute little to improved pupil performance. This is not to say that higher expenditures and improved curriculum and facilities may not be important adjuncts to improvements in the education of minority students, but rather it is to say that these changes must be accompanied by changes in student attitudes, student body characteristics, and teacher characteristics if substantial improvement is to be made in the education of Negro students.

#### Student Attitude and the Schools

While this study clearly cites student attitudes as the single most important variable relating to student achievement, it does not assess the role of the school in forming student attitudes. Those aspects of the curriculum and teacher attitudes relating most closely to student attitudes have not been included in this study. However these omissions have been covered in other studies. Since they bear on any effort to assess the relationship between residential segregation and education, this additional information will be treated.

The treatment of Negroes in the school books teach the student about himself, his race, and the schools. A group of six historians at the University of California analyzed a number of textbooks most widely used in the fifth, eighth, and high school classrooms in California.

They concluded:

"We are concerned first of all as historians. . . . Most of the textbooks we examined reflect views on racial and sectional themes that have been rejected or drastically modified by the best of current historical scholarship.

"We are additionally concerned as citizens because these historical distortions help perpetuate and intensify the pattern of racial discrimination . . . it is a kind of bad history that reinforces notions among whites of their superiority and among Negroes of their inferiority.

". . . the greatest defect in the textbooks we have examined is the virtual omission of the Negro." [177, pp.1f.]

Another study of over 50 readers and social science textbooks used in the New York City public schools arrived at similar conclusions. [186] The Negro was most likely omitted from American history after his release from slavery, and the treatment of the Negro slave was less than balanced. Among the comments on textbooks in common use were the following:

"Your Country's Story alone called slavery an evil. This one statement was contradicted in all other books which mentioned slavery. Your People and Mine described the founding, growth and daily life of Virginia Colony without mentioning the presence of Negro people. . . . Several books give an implied justification of the use of Negro slaves by repeating the myth that they were better suited to long hard work in the hot sun and by implying that they were better off under slavery than they were in Africa. Thus, Founders of Our United States tells us 'They (the Negroes) were accustomed to the hot weather because they came from a hot country. They made good workers in the tobacco field.' Our America gives no indication of the horrors and suffering of slavery, but states, 'Most Southern people treated their slaves kindly,' and, further on, 'It is true that many slaves were well cared for.' In My Country's Growth we learn that the Negro people 'were not used in the northern mills and factories . . . (but) on the southern plantations . . . they worked away quite cheerfully.' We are also told that 'many of the slaves had snug cabins to live in, plenty to eat, and work that was not too hard for them to do. Most of the slaves seemed happy and contented.'

"We looked in vain for mention in any of the books of any resistance to slavery by the Negro people. We also looked in vain for mention of the Negro people in any connection other than slavery during this period. In fact, we found no indication that the word Negro meant anything other than slave, even though more than one-half million Negroes were living as freemen at the outbreak of the Civil War." [186, p.8]

These readers and social studies texts are representative of the vast majority of books used in the public schools throughout the coun-



try today, even though a number of publishers are now trying to correct these defects and a number of the large inner city school systems are developing special curriculum materials. However, even with improved curriculum materials, the prevailing educational philosophy still presents difficulties in adequately dealing with the place of the Negro in American history. The California study points out:

"The tone of a textbook is almost as important as anything it has to say. In their blandness and amoral optimism these books implicitly deny the obvious deprivations suffered by Negroes." [177, p.2]

This tone appears to be the prevalent mode throughout the school systems for dealing with all "problems" that may exist in American history or at present. Thus, an extensive national survey of elementary school systems concludes:

"Teachers tend not to deal with partisanship or to discuss the role and importance of conflict in the operation of the political system, perhaps because of the position of the school in the community." [90, p.377]

"This pattern of emphasis in the curriculum suggests that the school teaches only ideal norms and ignores the tougher, less pleasant, facts of political life in the United States." [90, p.210]

The same study places these observations within the framework of the dominant educational philosophy:

"It seems likely that before a child is informed about conflict and disagreement he should have sufficient time to internalize and become attached to the ideal norms of the system. Building on this firm attachment and acceptance of the basic worth of the country and the individual citizen, it may then be possible to explain the role of disagreement and debate. . . . The unpleasant aspects of political life should perhaps be left until a later time, when they can be viewed as deviations rather than being mistaken for normal or usual behavior." [90, p.376]

Has discrimination on the basis of race been the deviation or the norm in American history? Does the Negro child raised in the ghetto feel that his experiences are not widely shared among the Negro popula-

tion in America? By his early elementary school years he will be aware that he is Negro, that he is living in a segregated community, and that he is treated differently than white children because of his skin color. He has already confronted this in his life experience. When will he confront it in school in open discussions in the classroom?

It seems likely that even with improved curriculum materials the teachers will deal in a bland way with race issues, and particularly those race issues of ghetto living that are most salient for the Negro school child living in a ghetto. Several different factors will most likely contribute to this expected bland treatment. First, there is sufficient wisdom in the educational philosophy that it will be difficult to abandon. Second, the teachers may know too little about the actual history and problems of the Negro, especially the lower-income Negro ghetto dweller, to deal with the subject realistically. Third, such discussions may well provoke anxiety in the teacher and the student, and teachers have not been adequately trained to deal with such anxiety either in themselves or their students. Fourth, if the teachers unconsciously harbor the racial biases of many of the majority community, they may find the fear of anxiety-creating situations and the prevailing educational philosophy as more than sufficient explanation for avoiding such discussions. Fifth, the teachers may feel shame or guilt about the treatment of the Negro in America, and may consequently be hesitant to deal with the problem realistically. Finally, the teachers and the school administrators may be afraid of the reaction that such treatment could provoke in the majority community. However, unless the Negro ghetto child's life situation is confronted openly and honestly, it seems difficult to imagine how meaningful communication can be established in schools with the

children of the ghetto.

To restate this point, the presence of racial discrimination and racial ghettos makes meaningful communication between the teacher and the students particularly difficult. However, unless the schools face up to these difficulties, even though they may not have been of their making, they will not be able to perform their necessary function in a democratic society. The maintenance of the ghetto makes such a "facing up" more difficult for students, teachers, administrators, and the community alike!

Schools have rarely tried to deal directly with the crucial attitudes that a student has of himself. Yet numerous studies indicate the relationship between student attitudes and achievement and the ability of the schools to effect students' attitudes of themselves. [25, 82]. One program that did attempt to deal directly with the attitudes of the students was the Demonstration Guidance Program in New York City. The basic philosophy of the program was described by the principal of the school in which it was undertaken:

"Our assumption was that no community was so bad it didn't have a better proportion of able kids than that. . . . Our first job with these kids is the creation of a decent self-image. They are encouraged to think they can achieve, and they achieve. The opinion that a majority group holds of a minority group, in our experience, tends to make the minority group behave according to that opinion. So many kids are told, 'you're a Negro -- you can't move up.' They come to believe it." [Cited 128, pp.318, 140]

The principal of the school was Dan Schreiber, an outstanding administrator with a deep understanding of the problems his students faced. The program was organized in Junior High School 43, New York City, in 1956, and extended to George Washington High School later.\*

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\* Information for the discussion of the Demonstration Guidance Project from [37, pp.141ff.; 91; 112; 128, pp.138ff.]

The school served 1,400 students, of whom 48 percent were Negro, 38 percent Puerto Rican, and 14 percent white. The students were "disadvantaged". "Collectively, they suffered from all the ills which a modern society can visit upon the children unfortunate enough to live in its city slums." [112, p.45] The median I.Q. of the school was 82, and reading scores were well below normal. Truancy was high, and more than three-fifths of JHS 43's graduates failed to graduate from high school.

The program was originally funded jointly by the Committee on Integration, the College Entrance Examination Board, the National Negro Scholarship Committee, and the New York Board of Education. The underlying assumption of the program was that culturally deprived children were capable of much higher levels of performance than was indicated by the I.Q. scores and current academic achievements and that it was possible for the schools to teach the children in a manner which could close the gap between their potential and their actual achievement. In particular, the program was interested in those with college potential who were not "making it", and indeed, whom the educational system was now labelling as unable to "make it". The program thus focused upon those students who were perceived to have the greatest potential.

Kenneth Clark summarized the results:

"Then the school became a pilot demonstration guidance program and what looked like a miracle occurred. Six times as many students went to college than had earlier. The dropout rate fell one-half, from 50 percent to 25 percent. Eighty-one percent were judged to have greater intellectual capacity than their earlier I.Q. and achievement scores would have predicted -- their I.Q.'s in the eleventh grade went up an average of eight to nine points. In the more than two years during which the tests were made, the average student gained 4.3 years in reading scores compared with 1.7 years during a similar earlier period." [37, p.142]

In 1955, before the program was initiated, only five JHS 43 graduates in the first year academic program at George Washington High

School passed all their subjects. In 1960, 58 passed all their subjects. In the high school graduating class of more than 900, project pupils ranked 1, 4, and 6. One student with an I.Q. of 97 at the beginning of the project went off the top of the Pintner I.Q. scale at 139 before graduating high school, and he won a \$1,600 scholarship to Columbia University. Another started with an I.Q. of 74 and four years behind in reading skills. Upon graduation he won a scholarship to New York University. Not everyone succeeded in the project, but enough did that the project clearly demonstrated the contribution the schools could make to improvements in I.Q. levels and educational achievement.

The Demonstration Guidance Program was closed down, but its success resulted in the opening of a Higher Horizons Program in its stead. The Higher Horizon Program was intended to spread the benefits of the Demonstration Guidance Program throughout the school system and particularly into the Negro ghetto. The program was introduced in 1959, and it eventually spread to 52 elementary schools, 13 junior high schools, and 11 high schools. The program was introduced with much fanfare and it was long upheld as a model for compensatory educational programs.

Without fanfare -- without even a press release -- the New York Board of Education closed down the Higher Horizon Program 7 years later, in 1966. One of the major factors that contributed to the demise of the program was a major program evaluation that concluded that the program was producing no measurable improvement in educational achievement. Students in the Higher Horizon schools were equal to those in similar schools without the Higher Horizon program in terms of I.Q. change, arithmetic achievement, and reading comprehension. [245]

The evaluation of the Higher Horizon program did not indicate why the program had failed to achieve the results of the earlier Demonstration Guidance Program, and the School Board has never offered an explanation. The Harlem Parents Committee believed that the major reason for failure was that when the program was more widely disseminated throughout the school system it lost the "special aura" of a demonstration project. [257] It also lost the close and understanding direction provided by the principal of Junior High School 43, and it entered segregated schools.

The Demonstration Guidance Program suggests how much more effective the schools could be in altering student attitudes and improving achievement of deprived and minority group students. The Higher Horizon program indicates how difficult the task remains when efforts are diffused throughout a school system and the basic structure of the ghetto is not altered.

The staff of the United States Commission on Civil Rights recently reviewed the Demonstration Guidance program and more than 20 other compensatory education programs in large cities. The Report of the Commission concludes: "Evaluations of programs of compensatory education conducted in schools that are isolated by race and social class suggest that these programs have not had lasting effects in improving the achievement of the students. The evidence indicates that Negro children attending desegregated schools that do not have compensatory education programs perform better than Negro children in racially isolated schools with such programs. . . . Large-scale increases in expenditures for remedial techniques . . . undoubtedly would be helpful to many students, although it is uncertain that they could overcome the

problems of racial and social class isolation. Compensatory education programs on the present scale are unlikely to improve significantly the achievement of Negro students isolated by race and social class." [192, Vol.1, p.205, emphasis added]

### Summary and Conclusions

In the previous section it was pointed out that the maintenance of the ghetto teaches everyone that the color of one's skin makes a difference -- that the Negro cannot control his opportunities in the same way that the white man can, purely by virtue of his unalterable skin color. It was further pointed out that this lesson was learned not only by Negroes inside the ghetto, but also by Negroes living outside of the ghetto and by white Americans. The study prepared for the Office of Education suggests how important this is to the educational achievement of the children of the ghetto.

- The major factor associated with the achievement of Negro students is their belief in the extent to which they can control their environment. Growing up in the ghetto serves to reduce the belief that one is master of one's fate, and is therefore probably closely associated with the poorer achievement of Negro in comparison to white children.

- The second most important set of factors affecting school achievement is the background characteristics of the family. Income, education, attitude -- all were subordinate to the overriding background factor of race in shaping the child's attitude about himself. The background factors which independently evidenced the strongest association with educational achievement of Negro children were those related to family income. It will

be shown in the next section that confinement to the ghettos of the central cities serves to limit economic opportunity, and therefore to reduce income.

⑥ The third most important set of variables affecting student achievement were the characteristics of the peer group. Residential segregation serves to confine the pupil's in-school and out-of-school peer group associations to those of similar social and racial background. The report concluded that "in a segregated system, if one group begins at an educationally impoverished level, it will tend to remain at that level."

● The fourth most important set of variables associated with educational achievement were teacher characteristics. However, the report failed to treat racial attitudes of teachers. Other studies indicate that the expectations that teachers have for their students affects the student's image of himself and his academic achievement. The maintenance of the ghetto, with the wide disparities between achievement in the Negro ghetto and achievements in the white world outside, serves to perpetuate the types of stereotypes that lower teacher expectations and achievement levels of Negro students.

● The fifth most important set of factors associated with student achievement were school curriculum and facilities. The ghetto system makes certain issues particularly salient in the life of the Negro child, and the present school curriculum is not equipped to deal with these issues. The lack of relevancy, or saliency, of much of the school curriculum probably serves to further lower the interest and achievement of the children of the ghetto.

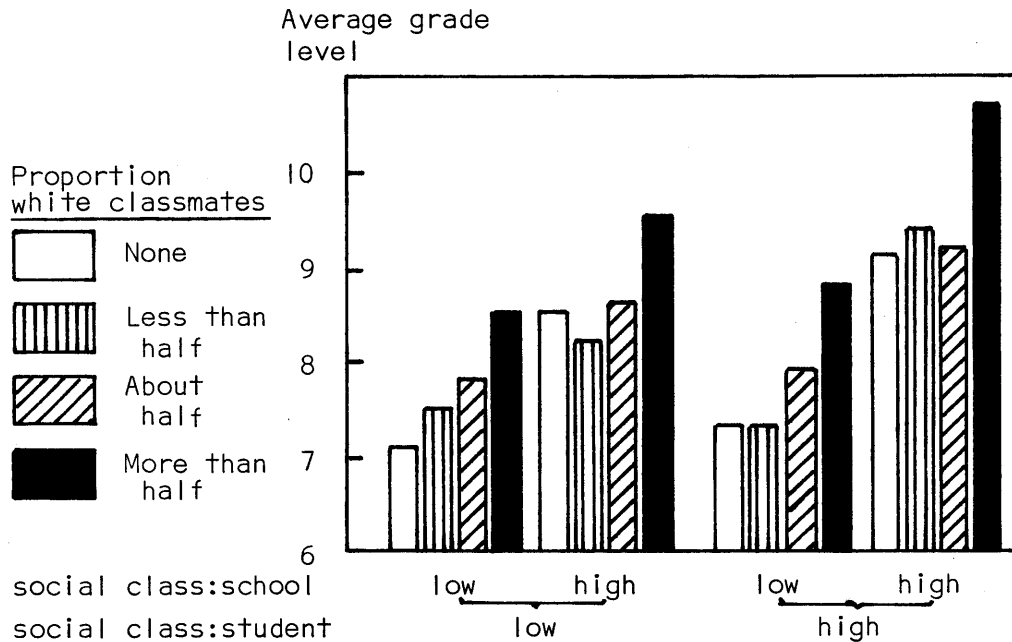


The analysis of the data, provided by the Office of Education study, for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights clearly indicates the relationships between the social class of the student, the social class of the school, and the level of integration. When students of similar social class, in schools of comparable social class, are compared, Negro students who attended classes with white students in the earlier years and Negro students who attended integrated classes achieved better than those in segregated learning environments. Differences in segregation accounted for as much as 2 years difference in achievement levels by twelfth grade. Furthermore, the sharpest gains appear to be among those Negro students who attend classes in which more than half of the students are white. [192, Vol.1, pp.89-91; 103-108] Already, in the school year 1965-66, among the central cities of the twelve largest metropolitan areas, more than 50 percent of the elementary school pupils were Negro in St. Louis, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and Washington, D.C. If the Negro population continues to grow in the central cities while the white population increase occurs in the suburbs, it will become increasingly difficult for Negro students to attend classes in which more than 50 percent of the students are white.

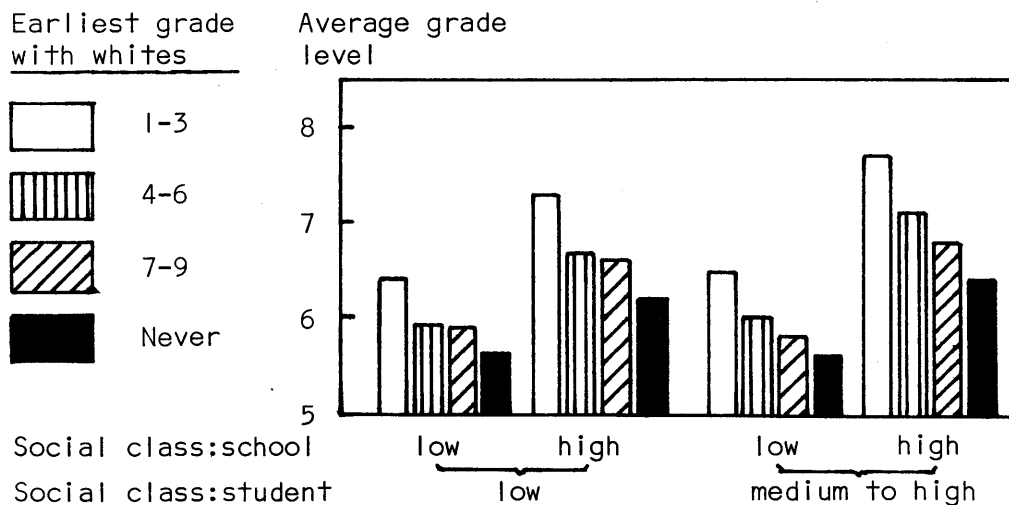
In conclusion, the Negro ghettos today are not comparable to the ethnic ghettos of previous years because of the increasing importance of educational achievement and the unique manner in which the Negro ghetto serves to lower the educational achievement of the Negro inhabitants. If the growing Negro populations continue to be confined to the central cities, it is likely that Negroes will continue to perform academically at levels well below the white population.

28 ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF NEGRO STUDENTS IN THE METROPOLITAN NORTH-EAST, BY SEGREGATION AND SOCIAL CLASS OF SCHOOL AND STUDENT: 1966

(A) AVERAGE GRADE LEVEL PERFORMANCE OF TWELFTH GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS BY PROPORTION OF WHITE CLASSMATES LAST YEAR



(B) AVERAGE GRADE LEVEL PERFORMANCE FOR NINTH GRADE NEGRO STUDENTS BY EARLIEST GRADE IN CLASS WITH WHITES



Source: [192, Vol. 1, pp. 90, 107]

## THE GHETTO AND JOB OPPORTUNITY

The period between 1850 and the First World War was a period of large scale immigration from Europe to the United States. This was the period during which the ghettos of the major cities were overflowing, first with Irish immigrants, then with Italian and Jewish, and later with Polish immigrants. It was also a period of rapid expansion of industry in the central cities of America. The ghettos provided the growing industries with a needed work force, and the industries provided the ghetto inhabitants with job opportunities and the promise of upward mobility.

In contrast, the period during which Negroes have been migrating to the major urban centers has not been one of continuous growth in the industrial labor force. The period between the two world wars evidenced little or no growth in the industrial work force. During the Second World War there was rapid industrial expansion in the major metropolitan centers. However, in the period since the end of World War II there has been a substantial reduction in central city employment in production activities. The number of production workers in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas declined about 30 percent between 1947 and 1963. In some cities the decline was even more precipitous. The number of production workers in Chicago, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, and Cleveland declined by over a third. In Detroit, there were half as many production workers in 1963 as there had been in 1947. [IIH-1, IIH-2] Thus the Negroes, in contrast to previous immigrant groups, arrived in the cities at a time when job opportunities for the unskilled and semi-skilled were declining. There is no longer the symbiotic relationship between the needs of the ghetto and the needs of growing industries.

In part, the inability of industry to meet the employment needs of the ghetto inhabitants has resulted from broad changes in the American economy. It is commonplace to note that the structure of American occupations is changing -- that technological advances are reducing the demand for production workers and that, as a consequence, an increasingly large percentage of the American labor force is finding employment in white collar jobs. At the present rate of technological advance, the output per man hour is doubling in less than 25 years. The proportion of production and farm workers in the labor force is declining. [140] These broad changes in the economy are undoubtedly making it more difficult for the relatively unskilled Negro worker to find gainful employment. The impact of these changes is clearly reflected in the central city industries in the major metropolitan areas. In spite of the nearly 30 percent decline in the number of production workers between 1947 and 1963, the value added by the production process in these cities increased by nearly 75 percent. [IIH-3] The value added by each production worker more than doubled during this period. These changes in the structure of employment in America are widely recognized, and they will not be elaborated further here.

There is another type of change that is occurring though. This change is equally as important, though less widely recognized. Not only is the structure of employment changing, but the location of employment is changing, and this change in the location of employment is seriously handicapping the Negro ghetto dweller. This change can be simply summarized.

The central cities of the major metropolitan areas are increasingly performing a specialized role in the American economy. They

are increasingly specializing in more highly skilled, white collar work. At the same time that manufacturing employment has been declining drastically in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas, it has been increasing in the suburban areas around these same cities. Thus, whereas the center city ghettos provided convenient access to employment opportunities for their relatively unskilled inhabitants in past generations, today the center city ghettos are providing increasingly poor access to such job opportunities.

In past generations, segregation served the ghetto inhabitants by providing them with housing adjacent to job opportunities. Today, residential segregation serves to bar the Negro from housing that is accessible to expanding job opportunities.

Two related aspects of this problem will be developed below. First the changing economic functions of the city will be explored in greater detail. Second, the consequences of this change will be defined more precisely.

#### The Changing Economic Functions of the Central City

The following trends generally characterize the recent economic history of the major metropolitan areas.

- Manufacturing employment is declining in the central cities while it continues to expand in the suburban areas.
- Wholesale and retail employment is declining in the central cities while it continues to expand in the suburban areas.
- Government employment is increasing in the central cities and in suburban areas.
- Employment in business services, central offices, and financial institutions continues to be dominated by the central cities,

though it is increasing rapidly in both central cities and suburbs.

- Employment in higher education, communications, and the arts is expanding rapidly in both the central cities and the suburbs.
- Employment in construction has tended to be fairly stable in the central cities while it has expanded rapidly in suburban areas.

Data on these various trends are not available in a form that permits systematic comparisons among central cities and between central cities and suburban areas. However, enough data are available in order to clearly discern and explain these trends.

Manufacturing enterprises can differ so much from one another in their location needs that generalizations on location trends must be accepted with care. Nonetheless, certain forces are clearly serving to induce many manufacturing plants to prefer suburban locations in preference to central city locations. The single most important factor propelling industries outward is the need for efficient space. Growing industries tend to need more workers and more square footage per worker.\* Old and new industries find single story plants more efficient than the mill-style five and six story buildings existing in downtown areas. The advent of continuous assembly line production and the fork-lift truck support this preference. In central city areas suitable plant space is not likely to exist. If land is available, it is likely to be in small

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\* A study in New York indicated that the floor space per worker in suburban plants built before 1922 was one quarter the amount of that provided in plants built after World War II. [231, p.155] A study of plant relocations in the Pittsburgh region indicated that after relocation the average site area increased by 300 percent, the average building area increased by 36 percent, and the site area per employee was at least double in every case. [121, p.73]

parcels, the acquisition of which is difficult, time-consuming, and costly.\* Finally changes in transportation, communication, and production technology have made it possible for industrial plants to locate well outside of the central areas without having increased costs for the movement of goods and services. [71] Indeed, increasing reliance upon road transport not only makes suburban locations more accessible, but it often serves to set the central city at a disadvantage because of the narrow and congested streets characteristic of their manufacturing areas. Thus, on the one hand, the desire for adequate, economical space propels manufacturing industry out from the central cities, and, on the other hand, improved transportation and communication technology permit such freedom in the location decision.

In spite of these general trends in the location of manufacturing industries, certain types of manufacturing industries can be distinguished which are more likely to prefer central city locations. Small firms are more likely to be located in central areas than are large firms. Firms with a product that may change quickly in a short period of time are more likely to be found in central areas. Women's apparel, jewelry, toys, and printing are characteristic manufacturing industries that are generally concentrated in the central areas. These firms share certain characteristic needs. Because their products are not standardized and they may change rapidly, these firms cannot set up continuous assembly

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\* Raymond Vernon notes: "Acreage in central cities is calculated at several hundred thousand dollars per acre -- indeed, in many cases, at several million dollars per acre -- whereas large parcels of improved land in the suburbs can typically be had at \$20,000 per acre or less. . . . The cost of buying the land, the cost of razing the structures, the time dimension involved in the acquisition of separate parcels, and the restraints imposed by the shapes of city blocks -- cumulatively, these problems virtually bar such redevelopment for private builders." [230, pp.17f.]

lines and they can not purchase well in advance. Such firms tend, therefore, to cluster around suppliers and subcontractors who can meet their rapidly changing needs. The classic example is provided by women's high fashion. The manufacturer must have access to a wide selection of fabrics, buttons, and trim. Styles may change rapidly, and the manufacturer has little indication, in advance, of the demand for his product. Such manufacturers tend to cluster in the central areas where they can find a wide choice of materials and secure small orders quickly. In contrast, the producers of men's work clothes can better predict their demand, order larger quantities of materials, and set up assembly lines. Their products are more stable and standardized. The consequences of these differences are clearly illustrated in New York, where the number of employees in the apparel industries declined by nearly 30 percent between 1950 and 1964. Almost all of this decline occurred in firms with more standardized products that moved outside of the central city. The high fashion sector of the industry remained strong and vigorous. [135, pp.33f.]

Unfortunately, those types of industries that profit most by central city locations are often those that are declining. Those that are expanding often prefer suburban locations. Thus a study of New York indicated that the central city actually increased its proportion of declining industries while decreasing its share of growing industries of the region in the post war period. [92, p.26] It is not, therefore, surprising that manufacturing employment is declining in central cities while expanding in their suburban areas.

Retail employment is also declining in the central cities while it is increasing in the suburban areas. However, the reasons for these shifts are quite different than those in manufacturing employment. Re-



tail outlets often follow their consumers. The rapid growth in suburban population has thus contributed, in large part, to the decentralization of retail establishments. However, other factors are also responsible for the decline in retail employment in the central cities. This is suggested by the fact that although retail employment in the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas declined by more than 15 percent between 1947 and 1963, the value of retail sales increased by nearly 30 percent. [IIH-4, IIH-5] It is difficult to untangle the relative importance of a number of factors, but it is possible that several have contributed to this seeming paradox. First, central cities appear to be specializing in the more expensive specialty items such as furs and jewelry. Second, consumer income has been increasing, and this is probably reflected in the purchase of more expensive items. The same size sales force may be required to sell a \$100 bedroom set as a \$1,000 bedroom set. Finally, the trend in many retail establishments towards self-service undoubtedly permits a greater number of sales per sales worker.

Employment in wholesale firms has also declined in the central cities while it has been increasing in the suburbs of the major metropolitan areas. However, this trend has not been as pronounced in wholesale employment as it has been in retail and manufacturing employment, and wholesale employment continues to remain concentrated in the central cities. Nonetheless, wholesale employment in the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas did decline by about 6 percent while it more than doubled in the suburbs between 1948 and 1963. [IIH-6] Wholesale firms, like retail firms, and unlike many manufacturing firms, need quick, easy access to their customers. With the increasing reliance upon truck transport, many wholesale firms are not tied to central locations,

and indeed, they may prefer to avoid the congestion associated with such locations. Also, with the decentralization of retail and manufacturing activities, a location between the central cities and the suburbs is becoming increasingly desirable. As an indication of the loss of advantage of central locations for wholesale firms, a relocation study for Manhattan's Washington Market, a central wholesale market for fruits and vegetables, noted that by moving outside of Manhattan distribution costs could be reduced by more than 30 percent. [92, p.83] Clearly wholesale firms will differ in their needs for central locations. It is likely that many firms will remain in the central cities, but it is also likely that an increasing number will seek locations elsewhere.

Government employment has been increasing in cities and suburbs alike, though not as rapidly as is often imagined. In the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas, the number of local government employees increased about 10 percent between 1950 and 1960. In view of the continuing expansion in Federal aids for local communities and the continuing recognition of unmet needs in these communities, it is likely that government employment will continue to expand, and to play a proportionally more important role in the employment structure of the central cities.

Employment in finance, insurance, and real estate remains concentrated in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas, although the numbers employed are increasing both in the central cities and the suburbs. Data available for eight large metropolitan areas indicate that more than 80 percent of the metropolitan employment in banking, securities and commodities exchange, insurance, real estate, and holdings and other investment companies is concentrated within the central cities.

[230, p.59] Data available on individual cities indicate that employment

is expanding in these fields and that this expansion is expected to continue. Two factors are of particular importance in the continuing domination by the central cities in these fields. On the one hand key decision makers in these fields often require direct face-to-face communication with other decision makers outside of their firm and they require easy access to a wide range of experts. In these enterprises, when money, securities, or physical property is exchanged, the exchange often follows a period of face-to-face meetings and bargaining. Furthermore, either party in the transaction may require the advice of experts in such diverse fields as international tax law, metallurgy, or city planning. In such enterprises "time is money" and the delay in a decision can mean the loss of a business opportunity. Such rapid, non-routine decision-making requires the concentration of large numbers of experts and executives, and this can best be accomplished in the central areas. On the other hand, such enterprises often require large office forces that perform routine and highly repetitive tasks.\* These tasks are usually performed by young women. These firms have found that they can more readily attract and hold young, well-educated women if they are located near public transportation and convenient to lunch-hour shopping, after-work recreation, and husband hunting. The preference of this female work force also favors the central city location.

Headquarter offices of America's commercial and industrial firms are also expressing a continuing preference for center city locations.\*\*

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\* Though such tasks are highly vulnerable to automation, it nonetheless appears possible that there will be a continued growth in this work force. For example, studies in the banking industry suggest that the growth in existing services may offset the effects of automation, and that the introduction of automation permits the introduction of new services that expands the work force. [140, Vol.11, p.166]

\*\* There is no conclusive data on this continuing preference and at least one study suggests that this conclusion may not be fully warranted. [130, pp.39-42]

The reasons for this preference are similar to those of the finance, insurance, and real estate firms. These firms also require rapid, non-routine decisions that benefit by face-to-face contact; they require the services of a wide range of experts; and they benefit by a well-educated female work force. In addition, these firms also benefit by being in close proximity to the financial community.

The concentration of headquarter offices within the central cities attracts a number of other highly skilled activities that cluster around them. Radio, television, and newspapers; advertising and public relations; other types of business and professional services -- all tend to be concentrated in the central cities in close proximity to the offices that utilize their services. It is likely that employment in the communications industries may not expand rapidly in the central cities. However, the business and professional services form one of the most rapidly expanding sectors of the American economy, and it is likely that the central cities will continue to share in an important part of this growth.

Other types of office activities are increasingly located in suburban areas. Wholesaling, retailing, and manufacturing activities require offices. Studies in New York, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco all indicate that as these firms locate outside of the central city, they will usually attach offices to the wholesale, retail, or manufacturing installation. However, in spite of the decentralization of activities, the larger of these firms usually retain their central administrative offices within the central cities. [92, 121, 259] Repair, business, and professional services are also increasing in the suburban areas, but not at a sufficiently rapid rate to result in a decline in the central city employment in these fields.

Employment in higher education and the arts accounts for a relatively small proportion of center city and suburban employment. However, employment in these fields promises to increase rapidly and to fulfill a more important role in the city and suburban economies. One witness before the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress noted:

"The American economy was built around the railroads in the last half of the 19th century, around the automobile in the first two-thirds of this century, and it will be built around education in the balance of this century." [10, p.7]

Museums, art galleries, symphony and opera houses, and college and university buildings are conspicuous elements in the new landscape of most major metropolitan centers. New civic auditoriums, art galleries, and colleges and universities are also developing in suburban areas. Unfortunately, data are not available to measure the relative or absolute growth of these institutions in center cities or suburbs. However, it is clear that they are expanding rapidly. The institutions of higher education are particularly important, for not only are they increasing employment to meet the needs of their rapidly growing student bodies, but they are extending services into the communities and they are attracting large research and development grants from government agencies and private sources. Furthermore, they are attracting those growth industries concerned with research and development. How much of this growth will be accommodated in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas is difficult to estimate, but it is clear that this growth will play an increasingly important role in the economy of the major metropolitan centers.

Construction employment generally provides less than 5 percent of the employment in central cities. However, it is of interest because a large proportion of construction employment is in blue-collar

jobs. The level of construction employment varies considerably from time to time, and from city to city. However, in general, the level of employment in the central cities has tended to remain fairly constant while it has increased in the suburban areas. The office building booms in the central areas of a number of major cities, civic centers and public works of various kinds, and some apartment construction and rehabilitation have generally served to keep the level of construction from declining in the central cities. However, these types of activities are quite sensitive to changes in the cost of money and to Federal urban policies. It is therefore difficult to predict future levels of employment, although those cities that have attempted such predictions indicate that they expect employment levels to remain fairly constant.

[73, 135] Suburban highway, commercial, industrial, and residential developments promise to maintain a fairly rapid rate of expansion, though these also are subject to fluctuations in the price of money and in Federal policy. However, the scale of suburban developments often make them more readily adapted to automated or semi-automated processes, and the labor unions in these areas may be weaker and less able to resist such technological improvements. The future level of employment in construction in suburban areas is unclear, though it is unlikely to decline.

In summary, the central cities of the major metropolitan areas are increasingly performing a more specialized role in the metropolitan economy. In the earlier stages in the development of these metropolitan areas, both the population and employment were concentrated within the central cities. However, as the metropolitan areas have expanded, the central cities and the suburban areas have begun to perform more specialized functions. These changes have become more clear in the period since

the end of World War II. Since 1947, employment in manufacturing, retail, and wholesale activities has been declining in the central cities while it has been increasing in suburban areas. Government, education, and office-oriented activities have been growing in both the central cities and the suburban areas. During this period, the central cities have maintained themselves as employment centers for headquarter offices, business and professional services, finance, insurance, and real estate.

Suburban growth may be expected to continue providing expanding employment opportunities in all categories of employment. In the central cities, employment opportunities in blue-collar jobs which predominate in manufacturing and in the lower skill white collar jobs characteristic of retailing can be expected to decline, while more skilled jobs in government, education, and office employment will expand.

#### Segregation and Suburban Jobs

When residential segregation separates the Negro from areas of increasing employment, this reduces his job opportunities. The reduction in job opportunities occurs through three different processes which are difficult to measure with precision or to compare in their relative importance, but which are nonetheless recognizably important.

- The difficulty of reaching certain jobs from Negro residence areas may impose sufficiently high costs on Negroes to discourage them from seeking or retaining employment there.
- Negroes may have less information about, and less opportunity to learn about, jobs distant from their residential areas.
- Employers may be more likely to discriminate against Ne-

groes if their establishments are in all white areas than if Negroes lived in the general area of the establishment.

The difficulties in reaching certain jobs are particularly serious for lower income populations which are less mobile than higher income groups. In part, the lower mobility of low income populations results from socio-psychological conditions, but for the most part it results from economic constraints.

The poor have been characterized as block dwellers, in contrast to city dwellers. [171, p.41] They may seldom venture far from home and they often feel uncomfortable when removed more than 10 or 20 blocks from their home. If these general observations are true of the white poor, how much more accurate they must be for Negro poor whose sense of isolation from the rest of the city may be particularly acute by virtue of their clearly identifiable skin color. These feelings evidently develop early, and may be slow and difficult to overcome. They are graphically illustrated in a study of fourth, fifth, and sixth grade children in New York schools in low income areas. [52, pp.4, 26] This study revealed that 65 percent of the children, excluding school field trips, had never been further than 25 blocks from their homes. On school field trips it was noted that the Negro children, more than those in mixed or in white groups, "acted as if they were in a foreign country." [52, p.26] The adversities encountered in poverty and segregation may make many ghetto residents hesitant in leaving their neighborhoods for less familiar territory.

Nonetheless, the poor and the Negro do travel beyond their neighborhood limits. However, there are strict economic constraints on the extent of such trips. The severity of such constraints become clear when it is recalled that for a family of four, with an income of \$3,000



a year, only about \$12 a month, or 40¢ a day, is ideally budgeted for transportation.

It should not therefore be surprising that most Negroes, particularly the poorer Negroes, journey to work by public transportation. However, the journey from the central city to suburban areas undoubtedly would cost more than 40¢ a day, and would therefore, at least for the poorer families, place a heavy additional burden upon the family budget. Furthermore, the magnitude of this burden is apparently increasing. The Consumer Price Index shows local transit fares as one of the most rapidly increasing items. [229] There is, in addition to the dollar costs of such travel, a high time cost. When public transportation is available in the suburbs, it is likely to require more transfers and longer waiting periods than center city systems. For a comparatively low paying job, high dollar and time costs of commuting may hardly seem worthwhile. All this assumes, of course, that public transportation is available which connects the place of residence to the place of work. However, public transportation in the suburbs is usually less adequate than in the central cities, and it is likely that no public transportation is available which can provide the ghetto dweller with access to potential suburban employment.

The alternative to public transportation is, of course, the privately owned automobile. However, the purchase, insurance, maintenance, and operation of an automobile is costly, much more costly than the utilization of public transportation. Studies of consumer expenditures in 1960-61 indicated that the average annual expenditure for the purchase and operation of automobiles for those families who own automobiles in metropolitan areas, was nearly \$1,000. For individual me-

metropolitan areas, the cost varied between a low of \$830 in St. Louis to a high of \$1,140 in Detroit. [111G-1] Little is known of the costs of automobile ownership. However it is likely that the advantages of low value used cars are at least partially offset by high interest rates resulting in high monthly payments. It is not, therefore, surprising to find that lower income families are less likely to own automobiles than are higher income families. It may be surprising, though, that when Negro and white families of similar income are compared, Negro families are less likely to have an automobile available than are their white counterparts. [11D-7] Within the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas, fewer than one in four Negro families with incomes below \$3,000 have an automobile available, compared to nearly one in three similarly situated white families. Less than 10 percent of Negro families with incomes below \$3,000 living in New York City, the city with the best public transportation system, have automobiles available, compared to more than 40 percent of such families in Los Angeles, the city with the poorest public transportation system. [111G-1] Clearly, if there is a sufficiently pressing need, many of these families can obtain automobiles, although this probably results in inadequate income left over for food and shelter. One way, or another, the costs of commuting long distances to work for poor families may be too high.

Labor mobility studies indicate that most workers learn about jobs from friends and relatives, by passing the place of work and seeing help wanted signs, and by other casual associations. Few jobs are located by government and private employment offices or by newspaper advertisements. A recent study of the methods used in obtaining ~~first~~ first time full-time work supports these usual findings, but also provides data for whites and nonwhites at different levels of education. [124, March 1966, p.94]

This study reveals relatively minor differences for those with different amounts of education, but it does reveal some differences between whites and nonwhites. Both whites and nonwhites relied primarily upon friends, relatives, or direct application. More than three out of four whites and four out of five nonwhites found jobs through these methods. However, whites were more likely to apply directly whereas nonwhites were more likely to rely upon friends or relatives. It is likely that this difference results from the Negro's dislike of facing discrimination and his reliance upon friends and relatives, through previous experience and contacts, to screen out those situations where he is most likely to encounter discrimination. Fewer than 10 percent of this population used government or private employment agencies, and less than 4 percent located their jobs through newspaper advertisements. Since Negroes have less contact with white areas distant from the ghetto and since few of their friends are likely to be employed or make frequent trips there, the chances of learning about distant job opportunities is significantly less than if Negroes were better distributed throughout the metropolitan area.

There are a number of reasons for suspecting that employers in all white areas are more likely to discriminate against Negroes than are employers in mixed or Negro neighborhoods.

- A number of studies have indicated that those with greater contact with Negroes are less likely to object to working with Negroes. For example, a national study indicates that those with no previous social contact with Negroes were more than twice as likely to object to working next to a Negro on a job as those with some contact. [24, p.148] A study in Boston indicated that those working

with no Negroes were three times as likely to object to working with Negroes than those who were working with some Negroes, and that those living in all white neighborhoods were twice as likely to object to working with Negroes as those living in mixed neighborhoods. [113, p.14] If Negroes do not live in suburban neighborhoods, there is thus a greater likelihood that the residents of these neighborhoods would object to working with them.

- Some employers may be hesitant to hire employees who must commute long distances to work because of the belief that such employees will have higher absentee rates, be more likely to arrive for work late, and hold their job for a shorter period of time than if it were easier for them to get to work. While such a belief is not direct racial discrimination, it may nonetheless serve to discriminate against ghetto Negroes seeking suburban jobs.

- If employers work in communities in which there are few or no Negroes living, they are likely to infer that Negroes are not desired in those communities. They may thus hesitate to hire Negroes because of real or imagined fears of possible reactions in the community. One would expect that those firms where customer contact is least important, or those with customers who do not reside nearby, would be least likely to discriminate as a result of actual or expected local response.

- Many job opportunities have been created by the actions of Civil Rights groups which have sought to reduce discrimination in employment. Such Civil Rights groups are likely to focus their attention on those employers in or near the ghetto areas, where discriminatory acts are more evident and the groups have more power.

Suburban employers are thus less likely to be subjected to those types of pressures which have often served to open up job opportunities for Negroes.

#### Residence and Work

The relationships between residential location and place of work have long been acknowledged. For the white household, the place of work may influence the housing choice. However, for the Negro household, it is more likely that the restrictions in housing choice influence, and limit, job opportunities.

When these relationships are examined for the large Northern metropolitan areas it is found that Negroes are more likely than whites to live in the central city and, as is to be expected, Negroes are much less likely than whites to participate in suburban job opportunities. Although nearly 40 percent of the jobs in the large Northern metropolitan areas are in the suburban areas, only about 20 percent of the jobs held by Negroes are in these areas. Those living in the central cities are much more likely to work in the central cities and those living in the suburbs are much more likely to be working in the suburbs. [11D-6]

The use of detailed data furnished by transportation studies in the cities of Chicago and Detroit permit a more refined analysis of the relationships between work and residence for the Negro populations of those cities. The percent of Negroes living in each of 98 areas within these cities, and the distance from these areas to the nearest point in the Negro ghetto were used to predict the proportion of Negro workers in each of the areas. It was found that those areas with fewer Negro residents and those further from the ghetto were less likely to have Negro workers. It was also found that these relationships were

stronger in Chicago where the ghetto is larger and less dispersed. This study also suggested that the high rate of Negro unemployment was, in part, the result of residential segregation, and that desegregation could result in 32 to 35 thousand additional jobs for Chicago Negroes. [101]

The Department of Labor, recognizing the employment problems of Negroes resulting from segregation, undertook a demonstration project in Chicago with the purpose of reducing unemployment in the ghetto by relocating Negroes to suburban jobs and housing. The Wall Street Journal reported the results of this project. [February 17, 1967] First, about 75 suburban employers were contacted, and 80 to 90 percent of these gave an immediate "job order." One manufacturer listed 187 jobs in a dozen job categories. Suburban real estate agents, community officials, employers, and others were contacted regarding Negro housing possibilities near job opportunities. The response was predictable: "Trying to move Negroes from the inner city into white suburbs would create a crisis. The white suburbs hereabouts are 'dead set against' integration." More than 2,000 Negro men were contacted, and most were unwilling or reluctant to relocate in unfamiliar and/or hostile suburban communities. More than a year after the project was initiated, only 8 individuals had been relocated: 5 moved to their new work areas, two are working in the suburbs but commuting from the central city, and another quit work.

One might expect that residential segregation would have different effects upon different occupation groups. When the relationships between residence and race for the different occupation groups in the large Northern metropolitan areas are examined, the following conclusions emerge:

- Among all occupational and industrial categories Negroes

are much less likely than whites to live and/or to work in the suburban areas.

- Negroes living in the central city are relatively unlikely to work in the suburbs, no matter what their occupation or in what industry they are employed. Those most likely to commute to the suburbs are laborers and private household workers and those least likely to commute to the suburbs are managers, clerical and sales workers, and those in construction jobs. The likelihood of various occupation groups to commute to the suburbs is closely correlated with the proportion of metropolitan jobs in that occupation located in the suburbs (Spearman Rank Order Correlation = 0.85).

- Negroes in all occupations except private household and other service are less likely than whites to commute to the suburbs. The disparities are greatest in those occupations where customer contact is most important (sales) and in supervisory occupations (managers and foremen). The disparities are least in clerical, semi-skilled and unskilled blue collar jobs. When Negroes and whites are examined according to industries, the same general pattern emerges. The disparities are greatest where customer contact is most important (retail and finance, insurance, and real estate) and least where customer contact is least important (wholesale and manufacturing). The construction industry provides the major exception, with Negroes being much less likely than whites to commute from the center city to the suburbs for construction jobs.\*

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\* John Kain, in a further analysis of the data from the Chicago and Detroit transportation studies, arrived at similar conclusions. He

These findings are interesting and important for they clearly indicate that Negroes living in the central cities find it difficult to find employment in suburban areas. These findings also indicate that those in jobs where customer contact is less important, those in non-supervisory jobs, and those in firms whose customers reside outside of the area of the firm -- in other words, those in jobs that one would expect would be least subject to discriminatory practices as a consequence of residential segregation -- find it easier to overcome the barriers of distance, even though these are the lower income, more poorly educated Negroes in the labor force. Nevertheless, it appears that the loss of Negro employment opportunities, resulting from housing segregation, will continue to increase as suburban jobs increase rapidly while center city jobs increase less rapidly or decline.

#### Segregation and Occupational Mobility

There is yet another means by which segregation may limit occupational mobility and thereby restrict opportunities for economic advance. One might hypothesize that the more segregated a social group, the more likely it is to maintain its occupational structure, or conversely, the less likely its members are to advance towards the occupational structure of the majority community. In other words, the more segregated the Negro population is, the less likely it is to advance

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calculated the percent of variance in the proportion of Negroes employed in the various sub-areas that could be explained by the proportion of Negro residents in the sub-area and the distance of the sub-area from the ghetto. He also found that service workers, laborers, and semi-skilled workers found it easier to find employment further from areas of Negro residence than managers, foremen, and sales workers. He also found that those in retail, finance, and insurance were much more likely to work within or nearby the Negro areas than were those in manufacturing, wholesale, and service industries. [103]



from lower skilled jobs toward the more highly skilled jobs of the majority community. There is a logical basis for such a hypothesis. Individuals of a group may develop realistic occupational aspirations on the basis of information about occupational characteristics and opportunities. If an individual is confined, through segregation, to a community with low job skills, he will have little opportunity to gain useful knowledge of better job opportunities from his family or neighbors and he will be unlikely to find suitable role models upon which to pattern his behavior while preparing for, and later searching out, such opportunities.

It is possible to test these relationships by examining the experience of a number of ethnic groups in American cities. Stanley Lieberson has defined the dominant pattern of occupational advance from one generation to the next in American society. Then he determined the pattern of inter-generation occupational changes for each of 10 ethnic groups in 5 of the major metropolitan areas. He found that the more segregated an ethnic community, the less likely it was to follow the prevailing pattern of occupational advance. [118, p.190] Additional analysis of the data furnished by Lieberson permits further confirmation of the relationships between occupational mobility and residential segregation. When the occupational status of first and second generation immigrants of different ethnic groups are compared, the greater the segregation experienced by the second generation group, the less advanced they were beyond the first generation immigrants. Finally, when second generation immigrant groups are compared, the more segregated the environment of the ethnic group, the more its occupational status differed from that of the Native Americans.\* Thus when the experience of a number of

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\* Residential segregation was measured in 1930; occupational status

immigrant groups are compared, lower occupational mobility and occupational status are clearly related to greater residential segregation. [IIID-4] These data strongly suggest that the segregation of the Negro community will restrict occupational mobility and maintain the occupational disparities between the Negro and white populations.

### Summary

An increasing proportion of jobs in the major metropolitan areas are being located outside the central cities. In some industries jobs are increasing in the suburbs and the central cities, but in manufacturing, retail, and wholesale industries jobs have been declining in the central cities while they have been expanding in the suburban areas of the major metropolitan areas.

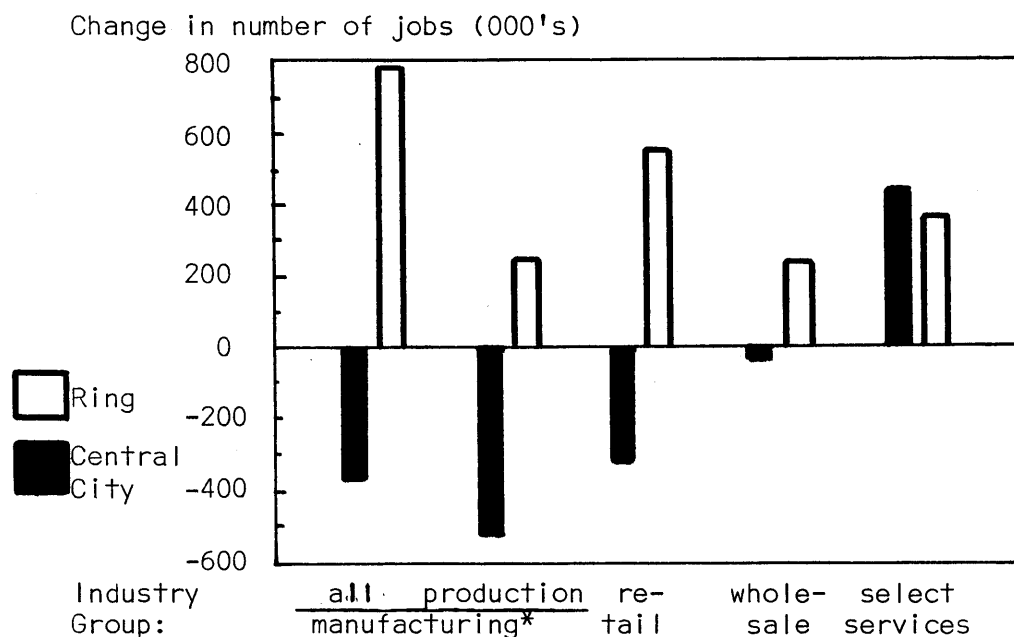
The confinement of Negroes in central areas at a time when jobs are decentralizing results in the loss of job opportunities for Negroes. Those living in the central cities are unlikely to work in suburban areas. In part this is the consequence of transportation costs and lack of information of job opportunities. In part this is the result of discrimination. Residential segregation results in many jobs being located in white communities, and Negroes are relatively unlikely to find employment in such communities, particularly in jobs where customer contact is important or where a firm's customers reside in the area. Transportation costs appear to weigh more heavily upon blue collar workers, whereas white collar workers appear to be more limited by job discrimination.

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was measured in 1950. It is likely that this reflects the residential segregation experienced while growing up better than if residential segregation had been measured in the same year as occupational status was measured.

Finally, residential segregation serves to limit occupational mobility. Thus one must conclude, for a number of reasons, that if Negroes remain confined to the central cities while employment suburbanizes, that the loss in job opportunities for Negroes will increase. The ghetto of 50 or 100 years ago provided convenient access to job opportunities, but today the Negro ghetto serves to isolate the Negro from job opportunities.

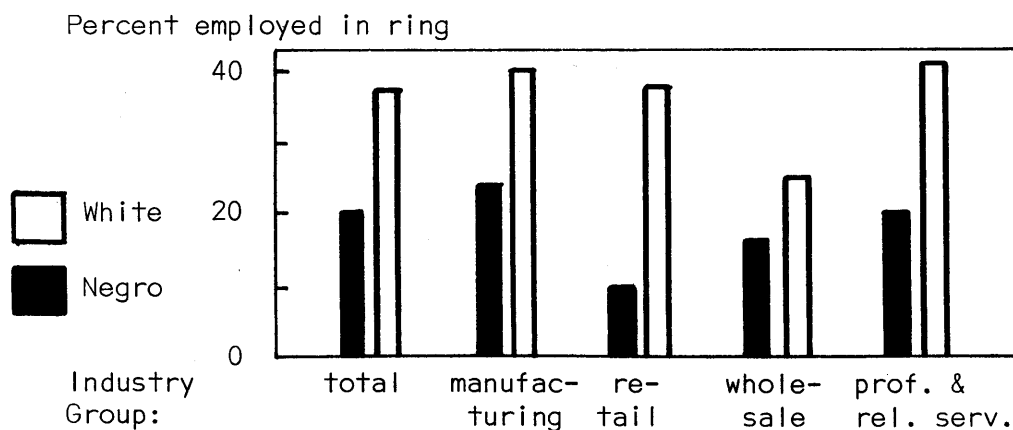
29 CHANGES IN THE NUMBER OF JOBS IN SELECT INDUSTRY GROUPS  
INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES OF THE 12 LARGEST  
METROPOLITAN AREAS (COMBINED): 1948-1963



\* Manufacturing, for period 1947-1963  
and excludes New York

Source: [IIH-1, 2, 4, 6, 7]

30 PERCENT OF PERSONS EMPLOYED IN SELECT INDUSTRY GROUPS LIVING IN  
METROPOLITAN AREAS OF 1 MILLION OR MORE EMPLOYED OUTSIDE THE  
CENTRAL CITY, BY RACE: 1960



Source: [IID-4]

## HOUSING AND THE GHETTO

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Housing in the ghetto and Negro housing throughout the metropolitan areas have been changing in character in recent years. In general, there has been a reduction in overcrowding and in the proportion of substandard housing. There has also been a sharp increase in the cost of housing. The nature of the Negro housing problem is gradually shifting from one of substandard and overcrowded housing to one of too costly housing. It is important to understand the causes of these changes -- to understand to what extent they reflect broad changes in the metropolitan housing market and to what extent they are predictable consequences of ghetto-ization.

The adequacy of housing available to Negroes is dependent upon at least three important factors:

- The adequacy of housing available in the total metropolitan housing market.
- The economic capacity of Negroes to participate in the housing market and to obtain adequate housing.
- The maintenance of a "dual" housing market through discriminatory measures which restrict the supply of housing available to Negroes and which serve to maintain the ghettos.

Each of these three factors interact in a manner that makes it difficult to untangle the individual importance of each. Nonetheless, it is possible to note how an inadequate metropolitan housing supply, the low income of Negroes, and discrimination contribute to the inadequate housing of the Negro population. It is also possible to suggest some of the interrelationships, even though these relationships are not subject to easy measure.

The housing occupied by Negroes is clearly linked to the metropolitan housing supply. For the most part, nonwhites expand their housing supply through occupying housing vacated by white households near the edge of the ghetto. [57] White families are likely to vacate such housing in search of better, or more suitable, housing elsewhere. Thus, white families are more likely to leave such areas, if there are good housing opportunities elsewhere. This relationship is clearly evident in the differences between the 1940-1950 and 1950-1960 housing markets. Between 1940 and 1950 the white population in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas increased slightly, the Negro population increased substantially, and because of the war, there was little new housing to meet the increased need. The expanding Negro population was largely confined to the already existing Negro areas. Conversions of dwelling units added to the number of rooms available in these areas, and the levels of room-crowding of the Negro population in these areas tended to increase slightly. In contrast, the period 1950-1960 was one of rapid suburban development. Many of the white families in the central cities of the major metropolitan areas moved to the new suburban developments. The white population in the central cities declined, leaving vacant housing units into which the Negro population could expand. The boundaries of the ghettos expanded comparatively rapidly during this decade, and overcrowding in white and nonwhite housing was reduced substantially. [181, pp.99-125, 166-169]

For the most part, then, Negroes obtain housing through the turnover of used housing.\* New housing is often added for the higher

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\* While this exchange of housing is often termed "filtering," filtering often implies a reduction in the cost of the housing. This cost reduction probably does not occur when housing is transferred from white to Negro occupancy.

income white population. As this housing is occupied, the new occupants leave older housing available, which is in turn occupied by a slightly less fortunate white population who are improving their economic circumstances and housing opportunities. This process continues, and in theory at least, improvements in one part of the housing market eventually benefit all segments of the housing market. As a consequence, it might be expected that improvements in white housing might be accompanied by improvements in Negro housing and that the better the housing opportunities are for the white population, the better they should be for the Negro population.

These relationships, at least in broad outline, do appear to exist. Thus, the period between 1950 and 1960 was one in which the proportion of substandard housing decreased substantially for both the white and nonwhite population in all the major metropolitan areas. Furthermore, those metropolitan areas with the highest proportion of substandard housing occupied by the white population were also those with a high proportion of substandard nonwhite housing, and conversely the lowest proportion of substandard housing for the white population occurred in the same metropolitan areas as the lowest for the nonwhite. [IIIF-3]

In summary, Negroes are inadequately housed in all metropolitan areas, and they are less adequately housed than the white population. Nonetheless, the expansion in the housing supply available to the white population does appear to be associated with a reduction in overcrowding among the nonwhite population, and a higher proportion of standard housing among the white population of a given metropolitan area appears to be associated with a higher proportion of standard housing for nonwhites. The nonwhite housing supply is, at least in part, determined by the total

metropolitan housing market.

### Income and Housing

There are three different aspects on the relationship between income and housing that will be discussed here. First, the cost of housing has been increasing more rapidly than income, so that low income families are finding it increasingly difficult to find housing at a price that they can afford. Second, inadequate housing can be considered, in part, a problem of inadequate income since those with higher incomes are more able to find adequate housing. Third, there is discrimination, for even when Negroes and whites of similar income are compared, Negroes are less adequately housed.

Residential construction costs have been increasing steadily, at least since the housing peak of 1925. The cost of building materials has been increasing much more rapidly than the cost of other wholesale goods, and the cost of construction wages has been increasing more rapidly than the cost of materials. As a consequence, the cost of housing has been increasing more rapidly than income for several decades. A major study of American housing concluded that "in 1929 the per capita money income (after taxes) in the United States was \$682; by 1955 it had increased to \$1,629. Nevertheless, despite an increase in real purchasing power of over 50 percent, the average consumer with a \$682 income in 1929 could buy more housing than his 1955 counterpart with a money income of \$1,629." [132, p.65]

Data for the period 1950-1960 clearly indicates that the cost of housing has been increasing more rapidly than income. White income increased about 50 percent during this decade and nonwhite income increased less than white income. Nevertheless, in the five major



metropolitan areas for which data are available, median rents increased 50 to 90 percent for the white population and 60 to 105 percent for the nonwhite population. [IIIF-6] Furthermore, the increase in rents was greater for the lower income groups than it was for the higher. [IIIF-5] Thus the lower income population, white and nonwhite, is finding it increasingly difficult to find housing at a price that it can afford.

The increasing costs of housing reflect the inability of the housing industry to supply housing at costs commensurate with income. However, one could look at the same situation in a different way and state that the problem is not with the housing industry, but rather it results from the inability of the low income population to create effective demand for adequate housing. Higher income families are better able to obtain adequate housing at a cost that they can afford.

However, the high cost of housing and the comparatively low income of Negroes do not afford a satisfactory explanation of the inadequacy of Negro housing. These factors do not account for the fact that when Negroes and whites of similar incomes are compared, Negroes are more likely than whites to live in overcrowded and substandard housing, and they are more likely to be paying a disproportionately large share of their income for housing. These disparities have been noted before.

#### The "Dual" Housing Market

That Negroes are largely confined to the ghetto for their housing opportunities and that Negroes pay more for equivalent housing than do whites have been clearly established. There are two related, but distinct, factors which serve to relate confinement to the ghetto to higher costs in housing. The first has to do with the nature and location of housing found in the ghetto and the second has to do with the economic

consequences of restricting the supply of housing available to the Negro population. The first affects those Negroes living in the ghetto, and the second affects all Negroes in the metropolitan area -- those living in the ghetto and those living outside.

Negro ghettos are usually in older housing just outside of the central areas of the cities. This locational factor, in and of itself, serves to increase the cost of housing for Negroes. The value of land is usually determined by location and potential use. On the one hand, land in more central locations is generally valued more highly than land lying further out. On the other hand, land with older, slum buildings may be valued less highly than land with newer, more luxurious housing. The location of ghettos serves to inflate land values at the same time that the presence of the ghettos serves to deflate the land values. The net result is often that, from the point of view of potential land use and city taxes, the ghettos represent an under-utilization of the land, whereas, from the point of view of the ghetto residents, the cost of housing is inflated by virtue of their confinement to potentially high value land. The situation is not particularly satisfactory either from the standpoint of the economic use of land for the city or from the standpoint of providing adequate, lower cost housing for the Negro household.

Land value data are available for New York City, and this provides a rather classic illustration of this situation. In New York prestige properties 5-9 minutes from the center of Manhattan can cost \$60.00 per square foot. At time-distances of 10-19 minutes, the cost can be \$20.00; in Queens, 25-34 minutes out, the price drops to about \$10.00; and in Brooklyn and the Bronx, more than 30 minutes from the cen-

ter, property can drop to under \$4.00 per square foot. Sites in the slums of Central Harlem, 20 minutes from the center, can cost \$9.00 per square foot, whereas sites in fashionable White Plains, more than 40 minutes from the center, can run \$4.50. [260, pp.85-87] Although other major metropolitan areas will not have such high land values at the center of the city or such sharp decreases as one moves outward from the center, it may nonetheless be expected that land values in the ghetto areas may be at least 2 to 3 times as high as land at less central locations in the metropolitan area.

Thus one would expect that the ghetto and central city housing markets would be different from the suburban housing market. This would be expected to result, in part, from the differences in the cost of land, and, in part, from the likelihood that more centrally located housing is older. When central city and suburban housing in the large Northern metropolitan areas are compared, a number of differences emerge.

- Central city housing is developed at much higher densities than suburban housing. Thus, in the major metropolitan areas, only about 30 percent of the single family detached housing is located in the central cities, whereas more than 60 percent of the apartments, and more than 80 percent of the apartments with 10 or more units, are located in the central cities. [IIF-1]

- As a consequence, suburban dwellers are much more likely to be home owners than are central city residents. Differences between center city and suburban home ownership are particularly sharp among the lower income families. When families with incomes below \$3,000 a year are compared only about 25 percent of those in central cities, in contrast to 59 percent of those in the suburbs, are liv-

ing in owner-occupied housing. About 39 percent of the central city population, compared to 74 percent of the suburban population, live in owner occupied housing. [IIF-3]

- When families of similar income are compared, those living in their own homes are likely to be in newer housing with more space. Such housing is less likely to be substandard or overcrowded than rental units occupied by families with comparable income. [IIF-5, IIF-7, IIF-11, IIF-2]

- Central city housing is older than housing in the suburban areas. At a given rent or value level, older housing is more likely to be substandard, but it is also likely to have more space.

- When families of similar income are compared, those living in rental units in the central city are slightly more likely to be in substandard housing than those in the suburbs. [IIF-4]

- When families of similar income are compared, those living in their own homes in the central city are less likely than those in the suburbs to live in substandard units. [IIF-4]

- Central city housing is more than twice as likely as suburban housing to be substandard. The better condition of suburban housing is associated less with the higher income of the suburban population than with the higher home ownership rates prevalent in the suburbs. [IIF-4]

- When central city and suburban households of similar income are compared, those in suburban areas attain more space. This results, in large part, from the higher rates of home ownership in suburban areas. [IIF-7]

- When households of similar income in the suburbs and cen-

tral cities are compared, those in the central cities are more likely to live in overcrowded housing. [IIF-5] This results from the greater number of rooms available in housing in the suburbs as a consequence of higher home ownership.

Thus, if one knew nothing about Negro housing other than it was largely confined to the central locations of the major metropolitan areas, one would predict that Negroes would be less likely to be home owners than whites of similar income, and that, as a consequence, Negroes, when compared to whites, would occupy older housing with less space that would be more likely to be overcrowded and substandard.\* These expectations about the disparities between Negro and white housing would arise on the basis of a knowledge of the location of Negro housing, and would be independent of any information on the race of the inhabitants.

Thus the location of the ghettos accounts in part for the disparities that exist between Negro and white housing in the metropolitan areas. However, even when the central location of much of the Negro housing is taken into account, substantial disparities in the housing of Negroes and whites of similar incomes remains. The interplay between location and other forms of discrimination is evident in the characteristics of the Negro and white housing markets in the major Northern metropolitan areas.

- When Negroes of similar incomes in central cities and suburban areas are compared, those living in the suburban areas are

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\* When center city and suburban rental units are compared on the basis of gross rent, or homes are compared on the basis of value, the same relationships between the central city and suburban housing stocks result as when they are compared on the basis of the incomes of their inhabitants. [IIF-9, IIF-11, IIF-13]

much more likely to be home owners. However, when Negroes in central cities are compared to whites in central cities, or Negroes and whites in suburban areas are compared, the Negro household is much less likely to be in owner occupied housing than is the white household of similar income. [IIF-3]

- When Negro home owners are compared to Negro renters of similar income, home owners are less likely to be in substandard housing; they obtain more space; and they are less likely to be overcrowded. However, when Negro home owners are compared to white home owners of similar income, or Negro renters are compared to white renters of similar income, Negroes are more likely to live in substandard and overcrowded housing. [IIF-6]

- In spite of higher home ownership rates of Negroes living in the suburbs, when Negroes in the suburbs are compared to Negroes of similar income living in the central cities, those in the suburbs are slightly more likely to live in substandard and overcrowded housing. Thus the disparities between Negroes and whites of similar income is even greater in the suburbs than it is in the central cities. [IIF-4]

That such disparities between Negro and white housing remain, even when location is taken into account, should not be surprising. Because of discrimination, Negroes do not have as wide a choice of housing as whites of similar incomes. It is almost a truism of economics that at a given level of demand, a reduction in the supply will result in a price increase. Discrimination reduces the supply of housing available to Negroes. One would expect that because Negroes are more constrained in their housing choices than are white households, Negroes will have to

pay higher prices for similar housing than will white families. In other words, one would expect that if Negroes are largely confined to any location, they would have to pay higher prices for housing in that location, and those that were able to escape from the Negro areas would also have to pay higher prices than would white families who would have a much wider choice in housing.

These relationships between the restricted supply and the comparatively high cost of Negro housing are dramatically illustrated by a number of case studies of the changes that occur in the price of property as it shifts from white occupancy to Negro occupancy.

- In 1965 an apartment house building with an all white occupancy was purchased in Evanston, a suburb of Chicago. The apartments were renting for \$105 per month. In the fall of that year, the new owner began to rent to Negroes, but he raised the rent to \$155 for each Negro family. The owner's main business was buying "white only" property and then renting or reselling to Negroes. The owner felt that he was doing Negroes a favor because no other realtor offices would rent or sell to Negroes in that area. [137, p.7]

- In Washington, D.C. in June 1964 a property was purchased from a white owner for \$11,500. Three weeks later it was sold to a Negro family for \$17,500. In November a property was purchased for \$13,500. Fifteen weeks later it sold for \$19,300. [267]

- A detailed study by the New York City Commission on Human Rights of one block in racial transition found that (1) sales were stimulated by speculators who tried to panic white families into

selling, (2) the average price paid by the speculator to a white owner was just under \$12,000, (3) the estimated fair market value of the properties ranged between about \$8,000 and \$13,000, (4) the average resale price paid by a Negro purchaser was \$20,000, or, on the average, 73 percent higher than the speculator's price, and (5) in addition to a high purchase price, the new Negro home owners were burdened by exceptionally high interest rates on their mortgages. [16, p.6]

- A similar study by the Chicago Commission on Human Relations found that the price that Negro families paid to the speculators was, on the average, 73 percent higher than the price that the speculators had paid to the previous white owners. Furthermore, the speculators purchased the housing with low interest mortgages and sold them to the Negro purchasers with a high interest contract which they held. Thus the speculator profited, at the expense of the Negro purchaser, both on the difference in sales price and on the difference in interest rates. [273]

- A study in Philadelphia found that speculators in racially changing neighborhoods, on the average, more than doubled their investments in less than two years. The study also indicated that the first Negro family to enter the area paid a higher premium than those that followed. [160] All of these studies bear a striking similarity, no matter what the metropolitan area that was under investigation.

Such studies do not claim to be representative of all cases in which property is transferred from white to Negro occupancy. However, they do illustrate the comparatively high costs of housing for some Negroes as a result of the limited supply of housing available to them.



While it is difficult to determine what proportion of Negro home purchasers must pay such comparatively high prices for housing, it is difficult to imagine that these Negro families would pay such inflated prices if other alternatives were readily available.

If these studies are representative of a general pattern -- that is, that Negroes inside and outside the ghetto must pay higher prices for comparable housing than whites because of a restricted housing market -- then a number of consequences should follow. First, contrary to popular myth, rents and property values should increase more rapidly in areas entered by Negroes than in all white areas. Second, and as a consequence of the first proposition, during a period in which Negro areas are expanding, the cost of housing for Negroes would increase more rapidly than the cost of housing for whites. A number of studies confirm these expectations.

The first major systematic study of changes in property value in areas entered by Negroes was conducted for the period 1943-1955. This study covered about 10,000 transactions in San Francisco, Oakland, and Philadelphia and it compared price trends in neighborhoods entered by Negroes to those in similar neighborhoods that remained all white. In 41 percent of the neighborhoods, changes in prices in the matched neighborhoods remained within 5 percent of each other. In 15 percent of the cases prices in the areas entered by Negroes were 5 to 9 percent lower at the end of the study period. In 44 percent of the cases, prices in neighborhoods entered by Negroes were between 5 and 26 percent higher than in the matched neighborhoods that remained all white. There was thus a decided tendency for housing in neighborhoods entered by Negroes to increase in price more rapidly than housing in neighborhoods that re-

mained all white.\* Furthermore, this tendency was manifest in neighborhoods of differing income levels and of differing proportions of nonwhites at the end of the test period. These findings are particularly interesting because they indicate that even in neighborhoods that were less than 10 percent nonwhite at the end of the period, there was still a decided strengthening in housing prices in comparison to all white areas. [115] These findings have been confirmed by other, more recent studies. [146]

One recent study compared the changes in the value of owner occupied housing in white, integrated, changing, and Negro neighborhoods in 47 cities with populations of over 100,000 during the period 1950 to 1960. The study indicated, first, that in more than 99 percent of the areas studied the value of homes increased. Second, the study found that home values increased an average of 35 percent in all white areas, 42 percent in changing neighborhoods, 45 percent in integrated neighborhoods, and 61 percent in Negro areas. [Cited 35, p.1228]

Both this study and data available from the major metropolitan areas, previously referred to, indicate that the cost of housing is increasing more rapidly for Negroes than for whites. It is likely that this comparatively rapid increase in the cost of Negro housing is a fairly recent phenomena inasmuch as Negroes are still, on the average, spending a smaller proportion of their income on housing than are

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\* These price movements appear to be influenced by a number of factors: the desire and ability of whites to move out, the willingness of whites to purchase property in mixed areas, the alternative housing opportunities available to whites, the demand for housing in mixed areas by nonwhites, and the absolute and relative price levels of the housing in the mixed areas. However, it is worth noting that these factors combined in such a way that prices were about three times as likely to increase more rapidly in mixed areas as to decline in these areas relative to housing prices in all white neighborhoods.

whites.\* It is not clear why the cost of Negro housing did not increase more rapidly than that of white housing in earlier periods. Perhaps it is because of the increasing welfare payments that often serve to subsidize the rents of low income Negroes. [65, p.328] Nonetheless, it is not surprising to find this occurring now, during a period in which the Negro population and demand for housing is increasing, segregation is increasing, and the boundaries of the ghetto are expanding.

### Summary

Several recent trends indicate the changing character of the ghetto housing problem. A significant segment of the Negro population still lives in overcrowded and substandard housing. However, the proportion of Negroes in such housing is diminishing. On the other hand, the costs of housing to Negroes is increasing rapidly, and this is clearly emerging as a major problem.

These changes have resulted, in part, from broad changes in the metropolitan housing market. In part, they have resulted as the consequence of residential segregation.

- The reduction in overcrowding in Negro occupied housing during the past decade reflects the general reduction in overcrowding in metropolitan housing resulting from the rapid increase in the supply of suburban housing.

- The reduction in the proportion of Negro occupied housing that was substandard also reflects the general reduction in substandard housing in the metropolitan areas.

- The increasing costs of housing for Negroes and whites re-

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\* Although Negroes, on the average, spend a smaller proportion of their income for housing than do whites, a larger proportion of Negro families pay an excessive amount of their income for housing.

flects the rapidly increasing costs of new construction and the increases in the cost of housing throughout the metropolitan area.

- The inadequacy of Negro housing results in part from the comparatively low income of Negro households. Higher income Negro households are more adequately housed than lower income households.

In part, then, the inadequacy of Negro housing is related to these general features of the metropolitan housing market. However, these factors, alone, do not account for the inadequacies of Negro housing. When Negroes and whites of similar income are compared, Negroes are less likely to be home owners; they are more likely to live in overcrowded and substandard housing; and they are more likely to pay a disproportionately large share of their income for housing. Furthermore, the costs of Negro occupied housing have been increasing more rapidly than the cost of housing occupied by white households. These Negro-white disparities result from discrimination which has created separate housing markets for Negroes and whites.

- The character and costs of housing are related to location. If one knew only that Negroes were largely confined to central areas and that the expansion of the white housing market is occurring in the suburbs, one would expect the existing disparities in housing quality and cost.

- However, Negroes pay an additional cost, for their choice of housing is more limited than that of whites because of discrimination. Thus, even when Negroes and whites in the same general location are compared, Negroes pay more than whites for equivalent housing.

Given these features of the metropolitan housing market, it

would seem that if Negroes continue to be largely confined to the ghetto locations that they will remain under-represented among home owners. If white households continue to leave the central city, it is possible that many Negro households will reduce the extent of overcrowding. However, because of the low rates of home ownership, it is likely that large Negro families will continue to have difficulty in finding adequate space. It is also possible that a diminishing proportion of Negro households will occupy substandard housing, both as a result of rehabilitation and the acquisition of standard housing previously occupied by white families. However, it is also likely that the disparities between Negro and white occupied housing will continue, and that the cost of housing for Negroes will continue to increase more rapidly than income. Already, in 1960, more than 80 percent of low income Negro households were paying an excessive amount of their income for rent. It is likely that the high costs of housing that result from the maintenance of the ghetto will place an increasingly heavy burden upon these low income families. It is likely that increasing housing costs will leave less and less money available for other necessities. Economic subsistence will become more and more difficult and upward mobility, as a result, will become nearly impossible.

## SUMMARY

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We are now ready to return to the conditions previously specified for the efficient functioning of the ghetto in order to see in what manner the ghetto has lost its capacity to perform its function as a bridge between the new immigrants' old ways and entry into the main-streams of American society.

The ghetto must provide some sense of psychological security -- that is, the ghetto must foster the development of a sufficiently strong sense of individual identity.

The former ghettos offered their inhabitants the security of a common bond in their European past. The present ghettos offer their inhabitants a tie to the past also. However, this tie is to a past of slavery and denigration. Such a bond is hardly likely to contribute to the development of a secure sense of individual identity. Furthermore, the gap between the present ghetto inhabitants and the majority society is probably sharper than that of previous immigrant groups, and this gap is more readily apparent because of advances in the mass media and transportation. It is likely that the perception of this wide gap serves to further weaken the sense of self-worth. In addition, the previous ghetto inhabitants arrived in America with the hope of finding a new and better life. Many of these inhabitants, in the course of decades or generations, were able to move into the mainstreams of American life, and to share in the general prosperity. In contrast, the Negro arrived in America more than 350 years ago and he has not yet made it up beyond the bottom rung of society. It is not hard to believe that many Negroes may not share in the belief in the possibilities for upward mobility to the same extent as previous immigrant groups. The earlier immigrants may

have accepted the ghetto as a first step into the mainstreams of American society. The Negro may perceive it as one more form of enslavement.

The ghetto environment must provide access to the educational opportunities which are necessary for effective entry and advancement in American society.

It is likely that earlier ghetto inhabitants could have received a better formal education if they had been able to attend schools with others who had advanced further in American society than they had. However, the earlier ghetto inhabitants arrived in America at a time when there was little necessity for a good formal education. Though ghetto schools may have been inferior in those days, the consequences of an inferior education were not as serious as they are today. At the present moment education has become a major prerequisite for upward mobility. Education is becoming more closely linked to job opportunity and income each passing year. Thus, the inferior education of ghetto children today results in a loss of opportunity that had no parallel for the earlier immigrants.

The ghetto must provide access to employment opportunities through which economic advancement is possible.

For the earlier immigrants, the ghetto provided housing convenient to job opportunities. The older ghettos were adjacent to the manufacturing areas in which job opportunities were expanding. In contrast, today the lower skill jobs are decreasing in the central cities while they are expanding in suburban areas. As a consequence, the ghetto now serves to isolate the inhabitants from many job opportunities. Today segregation serves to bar the Negroes from information about, and convenient access to, many areas of increasing job opportunities.

The ghetto must provide adequate shelter for its population. Such housing must not only meet certain physical standards of adequacy, but it must also be available at a cost that the residents can afford.

The earlier ghettoes provided physically substandard and overcrowded housing. However, they also provided relatively cheap housing. The low cost of this housing permitted the ghetto inhabitants to accumulate savings in order to leave the ghetto for more adequate housing. In contrast, the ghetto today provides housing in better physical condition, but at relatively high cost. The high cost of such housing serves to leave less income for food and other necessities and makes it increasingly difficult to accumulate savings which are such an important aid in upward mobility.

For the earlier immigrant groups, the ghetto provided a number of advantages that were mutually reinforcing. The ghetto permitted a sense of security which was reinforced by convenient access to job opportunities. The job opportunities and the comparatively low cost of housing permitted the accumulation of savings which could serve to propel the inhabitants upward in American society.

In contrast, the present deficiencies of the ghetto serve to reinforce each other. The psychological consequences of a history of slavery and little upward mobility are reinforced by increasingly poor access to job opportunities. The resulting high rates of unemployment serve to make the ghetto inhabitant skeptical of the advantages of a good education, and therefore serves to further downgrade the existing education possibilities. Conversely, the poorer education makes entry into the labor force more difficult. The poor access to job opportunities, the comparatively poor education, and the high costs of housing



all combine to make it extremely difficult for the Negro ghetto inhabitant to accumulate sufficient savings to depart from the confines of the ghetto and the "vicious cycle of poverty" and to fully participate in American society.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **THE PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES**

## THE PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES:

### IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE

It is useful to project past trends into the future. Such projections may serve as an indication of the future, if the present course is not altered. But more important, such projections may clarify the consequences of present trends, and they may thereby provide guidance in the avoidance of undesirable consequences and the attainment of more desirable ends. What follows below is not a prediction about what will happen, but a projection of what may occur if existing trends continue uninterrupted.

### Population Changes in the Major Metropolitan Areas\*

In the two decades, 1960-1980, the population in the twelve largest metropolitan areas will increase by about 20 percent. The population within the metropolitan area will continue to be redistributed, declining by about 30 percent in the central city while increasing by 66 percent in the remainder of the metropolitan area. The proportion of nonwhites in these metropolitan areas will increase slightly, from about 13 percent in 1960 to 17 percent in 1980.

The white population in the central cities of these areas will decline by more than 50 percent. Thus, all of the growth in the white population will be occurring in the suburban areas. In contrast, nearly three out of four nonwhites added to the metropolitan population will

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\* These projections are based upon migration rates for the period 1955-1960. The birth and death rates are based upon 1963 data as detailed data are available for that year, but not for the period 1955-1960. The birth rates had declined in the period 1957 to 1963, so that, in a sense, these are conservative projections of the trend of the last half of the 1950's. See appendix tables, series IV, for details of the projection.

be in the central city. As a consequence, while the white population declines more than 50 percent in the central cities of these areas, the nonwhite population increases by 50 percent. In 1960, nonwhites accounted for less than one quarter of the central city populations (22 percent), whereas by 1980 they will be nearly half of the population of these twelve major cities (47 percent). During this same period, nonwhites will remain about 5 percent of the suburban population. In 1980, 18 percent of the metropolitan white population and 78 percent of the nonwhite will be living in the central cities.\*

The sharp decline of the white population will result from the continuing migration from central city to suburb. Most of the nonwhite population growth in these cities will result from natural increase. Nearly 7 out of 10 of the nonwhites added to the population will be added as a result of the excess of births over deaths.

Although the general pattern of population change will prevail in all the major metropolitan areas, there will be substantial differences among them. As at present, some metropolitan areas will have a larger proportion of nonwhites in 1980 than others; in some metropolitan areas the nonwhites will be more concentrated in the central cities than in

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\* A recent survey indicates that the population trends evident in the 1950-1960 period have continued, with some modifications, in the period since 1960. The survey, grouping all metropolitan areas together, notes that (1) in the period 1950 to 1960 the white population in the central cities increased slightly, whereas in the period after 1960 the white population in the central cities declined; (2) as a consequence, all the white population growth in the metropolitan areas has been accommodated outside the central cities; (3) in contrast, only about one in three nonwhites added to the metropolitan population were outside the central cities; (4) however, a larger proportion of the nonwhite population growth occurred in the suburban areas in the period since 1960 than in the previous decade; and (5) the average annual increase in the white and nonwhite metropolitan populations declined in the period following 1960. [274, p.1]

others; and the metropolitan areas in the West will experience a proportionally larger growth through migration than those in the Northeast and Northcentral states.

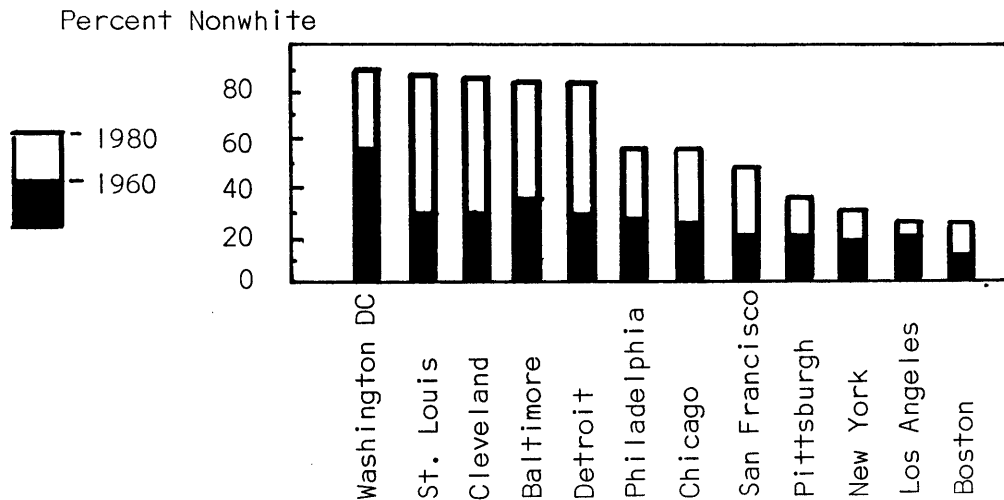
A number of the central cities will become more than 50 percent nonwhite. Washington was more than 50 percent nonwhite in 1960. By 1970, Detroit, St. Louis, and Baltimore will be more than 50 percent nonwhite. By 1980, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland will be more than 50 percent nonwhite. Thus, by 1980, the majority of the population will be nonwhite in 7 of the nation's 12 major cities. It should be underscored that this condition will result not so much from the rapid growth of the nonwhite population, but rather from the concentration of the nonwhite population in the central cities.

It is likely that fewer and fewer neighborhoods in the metropolitan areas will remain all-white during this period. An increasing number of nonwhites will live in the suburbs, and an increasing number will live in integrated communities. However, considering the exodus of the white population from the central cities and the growth of the nonwhite population in those cities, a much larger number of nonwhites will be living in segregated neighborhoods in 1980 than in 1960. Indeed, if the present rate of white exodus continues, some cities will become almost entirely nonwhite. The population of the cities of Detroit, St. Louis, Washington, Cleveland and Baltimore will be more than 80 percent nonwhite.

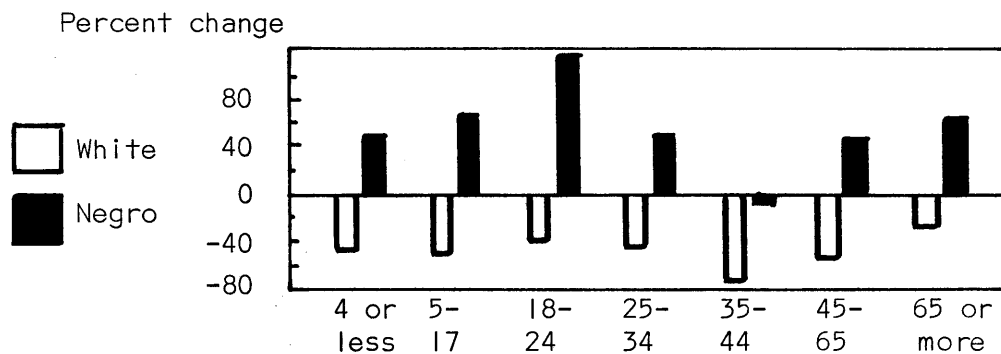
The age distribution of the population will also be changing in the period 1960 to 1980, and the disparity in the age distributions of the nonwhite and white populations in the central cities will increase. The changing age distribution of the nonwhite population will be governed,

31 POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD PROJECTIONS FOR THE CENTRAL CITIES OF THE 12 LARGEST METROPOLITAN AREAS: 1960-1980

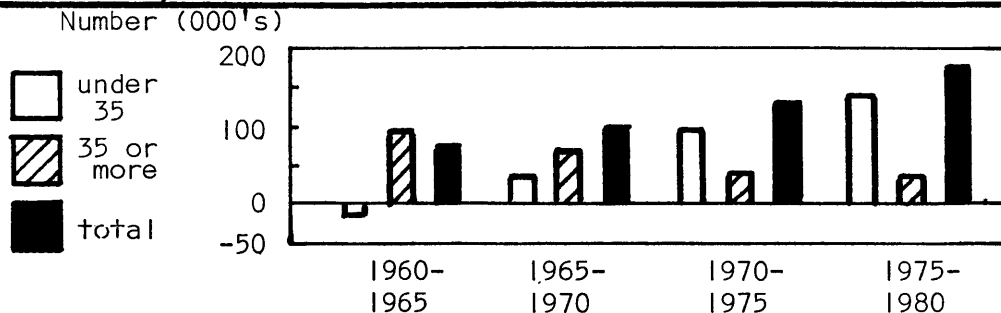
(A) PERCENT OF TOTAL POPULATION NONWHITE



(B) PERCENT CHANGE IN WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATIONS IN CENTRAL CITIES BY AGE GROUPS ( 12 CITIES COMBINED )



(C) CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF NONWHITE HOUSEHOLDS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES, BY AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD ( 12 CITIES COMBINED )



Sources: [IV-2, 3, 5]

to a large extent, by the low birth rates of the depression and war years and the high birth rates in the years following the end of the Second World War. The proportion of the nonwhite population over 35 -- those born during the depression and war years -- will decline, and the proportion of those born in the period after the war will increase. Thus, between 1960 and 1980, the number of nonwhites ages 35-45 will actually decline, while the number of nonwhites ages 17-24 will more than double.

In contrast, the changing age distribution of the white population in these central cities will be largely the result of migration to the suburbs. White families with school age children will be most likely to move to the suburbs and, as a result, the proportion of these adults and their children will decline in the central cities between 1960 and 1980. Those just reaching adulthood and those families with pre-school age children may be attracted by the big cities, and they may not so easily afford a home in suburbia. They are somewhat less likely to move at this time. Those over sixty-five are least likely to move out, and the largest proportional increase in the white population of the central cities occurs in this group. Thus, only 10 percent of the white population in the major metropolitan areas between the ages of 35 and 45 will be living in the central cities in 1980 in contrast to nearly 40 percent of those over 65 years old.

There are a number of problems that will become particularly acute as a consequence of these changing age distributions.

- The proportion of school age children who are nonwhite will be substantially higher than the proportion of all nonwhites in the center city populations. This imbalance will be further

aggravated by the transfer of many white students living in the central cities into parochial or other private schools. Any semblance of racial balance in the public school systems will be difficult or impossible to maintain. This is already clearly illustrated in Washington, where the nonwhites comprised about 65 percent of the population and more than 90 percent of the public school population in 1965. By 1965, in public elementary schools nonwhites comprised more than 50 percent of the students in the central cities in 7 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas. [IIIC-4]

- o An increasingly large proportion of the white population remaining in the central cities will be over 65 years old. A decreasing proportion of the white and nonwhite populations will be between 25 and 65 years old, or at those ages where individuals are most likely to be economically self-sufficient and capable of supporting the children and older members of the household. There will thus be an increasing burden of dependency upon those in prime working years and upon the public services of the city.

- The fastest growing segment of the nonwhite population will be those between the ages of 17 and 24, or those entering the labor market for the first time. This age group will increase more than twice as rapidly as the total nonwhite center city populations. If the labor market is not able to absorb this influx of new workers, higher rates of nonwhite unemployment and all the attendant problems are likely to result.

- The number of nonwhite households in the central cities will increase comparatively slowly between 1960-1965; it will increase somewhat faster between 1965 and 1970; and between 1970 and



1980 the number of new nonwhite households will increase more than twice as rapidly as during the 1960-65 period. Thus the present expansion of nonwhite housing may be a deceptive indicator of future needs for expansion. The number of housing units added each year to the nonwhite housing supply will have to increase in the future years, and it will have to double in the decade of the 1970's if the new nonwhite households are to be accommodated.

#### Socio-Economic Disparities in the Central Cities

In the decade 1950-1960, the proportion of nonwhite workers in the white collar occupations increased somewhat, and the proportion in blue collar jobs declined. It is likely that these trends will continue. Nonwhites may enter white collar jobs at a somewhat more rapid rate because of the possible expansion of such jobs in the central cities where nonwhites are concentrated and because central city white collar employers may become increasingly concerned about the employment problems of the nonwhite population and the consequences of such problems upon doing business in the central cities. On the other hand, with the rapid increase of nonwhites entering the labor force and the decline in blue collar jobs in the central city, it is likely that nonwhites will find it increasingly difficult to obtain employment in these fields and that nonwhite unemployment may thus increase. It is likely that the occupational disparities between the white and nonwhite population may be reduced slightly, but also that the disparities between the white collar Negro workers and the lower skilled Negro workers will increase substantially. While some segments of the Negro population will be making significant occupational advances, an increasingly large segment may be frustrated in their attempts to find employment and to earn sufficient

income to subsist and support a family.

It is likely that achievement in the ghetto schools may decline in the coming decades. Segregation will increase rapidly, and this may contribute to the decline in achievement. Furthermore, the probable increase in youth unemployment will serve to undermine incentives for achievement in school. Nonetheless, increasing efforts may be made to increase achievement in the ghetto schools. Such efforts may be more successful with the better students, and those from more prosperous families. It is therefore likely that an increasing number of nonwhites will be attending college, but it is also likely that the achievement levels of the majority of the Negro students will not improve substantially, and in fact, they may decline. Thus, in education, as in employment, there may be an increasing gap between the Negro and white population and between the lower and upper segment of the Negro population.

Changes in educational and occupational achievement will be reflected in changes in income levels of the nonwhite population. It is likely that the disparities between white and nonwhite family income and between the income of the lower segment and the upper segment of the nonwhite population will increase.

Changes in the housing of the Negro population are difficult to predict. Increasing costs in the production and rehabilitation of housing, coupled with the likelihood that the lower segment of the Negro population will make little or no economic advance, make it likely that an increasing segment of the Negro population may not have the economic capacity to achieve adequate housing. On the other hand, if the white population continues to exit from the cities at the present rapid rate, it is likely that the supply of central city housing may in-

crease more rapidly than nonwhite demand for such housing. It is therefore possible that the cost of housing could decline, and that Negroes may achieve better housing at lower costs in the coming years. Most likely, the higher income Negroes will benefit most by such changes in the housing market. These are the families that will probably move into the new areas with possibly high vacancy rates. The lowest income Negroes may continue to be confined to the inadequate housing within the existing ghetto areas. As a consequence, more successful Negroes will probably become increasingly segregated from those less successful.

The existing ghetto areas may thus become, more and more, the exclusive preserve of the poor, the unskilled, the unemployed, the poorly educated Negro. These Negroes will not share in the general prosperity and they will become increasingly isolated and alienated from more successful Negroes in the city and from the white population in the metropolitan area. The 1965 Census in Watts and Cleveland, the only two cities for which data are available, mark these trends. [213, 214] In Watts, the survey included only the poorer minority group areas, and in those areas the incomes of the residents declined in the period 1960 to 1965. In Cleveland, between 1960 and 1965, the incomes in the poorer Negro areas declined, whereas family incomes for Negroes and whites increased elsewhere in the city. The riots in ghetto areas in Watts and Cleveland -- and in ghettos of the larger cities throughout the country -- provide ample testimony of the increasing frustration arising from the plight of the ghetto-ized Negroes throughout the nation. If present trends continue, it is likely that the socio-economic conditions for the lesser skilled Negroes will continue to worsen, in absolute terms, and in relation to the more fortunate Negroes and the white community.

The City and the Metropolis: the Ghetto as THE Urban Problem

Charles Silberman has observed that "the urban problem is in large measure a Negro problem." [174, p.89] The concentration of the Negro in the centers of the major metropolitan areas affects the future of these areas, and it is of consequence for every American, white and Negro. The financial difficulties and rising tax rates in the central cities are linked to the maintenance of ghettos. Large sums of money are spent ineffectively in efforts to physically renew the city centers and socially renew their inhabitants because the politics of race inhibit more effective programming for such change. Finally, the more rational organization of the metropolitan area to better serve the needs of all the inhabitants is prevented by efforts to restrict the housing opportunities for Negroes.

The financial difficulties of cities result from a number of factors. It is not the intention here to explore the complexities of city finance but rather to suggest some of the ways in which the concentration of the Negro population in the central cities serves to aggravate the financial difficulties. It is well known that lower income populations require greater city expenditures for health, welfare, police, fire, and other similar services, while at the same time, as a consequence of their low incomes, they contribute less than their proportional share of the city revenue.\* Furthermore, the presence of the ghettos on potentially valuable land in central locations provides an

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\* While distinctions between race and income are not made here, it should be noted that a disproportionate number of nonwhites are poor and that white poor are more likely to find housing outside of the central city than are the nonwhite poor.

inefficient use of the land in the city and results in much lower revenues from property taxes than if the land were utilized in a manner more appropriate to its location.\* Finally, the precise relationship between the growth of the Negro population in the central cities and the exodus of middle income whites to the suburbs is difficult to determine. However, to the extent that this Negro concentration contributes to the out-migration of the more prosperous whites, it serves to further reduce the tax resources of the city. The increasing demands for city services without a proportional increase in the property tax base has resulted in increasing property tax rates. These serve to place an additional burden upon the Negroes and others remaining in the cities and at the same time they further stimulate the exodus of the more mobile white home owners and business enterprises.

The Federal Government is providing increasing assistance to the urban areas in an effort to make them better places to live -- to revitalize them through physical and human renewal. It is estimated that the Federal Government will spend more than \$16 billion in urban areas in fiscal 1966.\*\* The largest expenditures, in descending order of importance, are for public assistance (welfare), highways, the poverty program, elementary and secondary education, and urban renewal. Low income housing programs, though less costly, will also be considered. The discussion of highways will follow in the next section. It may be useful to note the ways in which the concentration of the Negroes in the central

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\* One of the major appeals of the urban renewal program has been to increase the tax base of the city by replacing slums with luxury housing or higher value commercial use.

\*\* These expenditures exclude loan insurance and guarantees. The fiscal year runs from July 1 to June 30 of the following year. Cf. [65, pp.179ff.]

cities compromises these efforts.

- The relationships between the ghetto-ization of the Negro, loss of job opportunity, low academic achievement and aspiration, comparatively high costs of housing, and low incomes have been previously defined. Given this situation, welfare payments may serve to place a floor under the deprivation of the Negro population, and as such they serve a useful function. However, the increasing concentration of the Negro in the central city, in tandem with the other changes that are occurring there, make it likely that the need for welfare payments will increase while welfare payments will fail to increase the self-sufficiency of the recipients.

- The declaration of purpose of the Economic Opportunity Act states: "The United States can achieve its full economic and social potential as a nation only if every individual has the opportunity to contribute to the full extent of his capabilities and to participate in the workings of society. It is therefore the policy of the United States to eliminate the paradox of poverty in the midst of plenty in this nation by opening to everyone the opportunity for education and training, the opportunity for work, and the opportunity to live in decency and dignity." [156, Sec. 2] It would appear that the increasing Negro population in the central cities will serve to work at cross-purposes with the poverty program. The segregation of the Negro is a significant cause of their poverty, their inability to participate fully "in the workings of society", and their inability "to live in decency and dignity." Unless the poverty program confronts segregation, it is unlikely that it will accomplish its

goals for the urban Negro population and for America.\*

• Most of the federal funds for elementary and secondary education are made under the act of that name enacted in 1965. The declaration of purpose of this act states: "In recognition of the special educational needs of children of low-income families . . . it (is) the policy of the United States to provide financial assistance to local educational agencies serving areas with concentrations of children from low-income families to expand and improve their educational programs by various means. . . ." [157, Sec.201] The Civil Rights Act of 1964 states that it shall not contribute to "the assignment of students to public schools in order to overcome racial imbalance." [155, Sec.401b] Considering the findings of the major study by the Office of Education, it is doubtful that this money will indeed meet the "special educational needs of the low-income" Negro children in urban areas unless integration is encouraged. [40] Daniel Moynihan, in a recent Senatorial Seminar with Senators Ribicoff, Javits, and Kennedy, commented: "But I don't think we are going to achieve what we want unless we insist on integration as our goal. You can pour money into schools, and if you keep those schools filled with people of one lower-class community it won't work. I can understand why people think of quality as a substitute for equality. It begins to look attractive because it is beginning to be clear how hard integration is going to be." [31, p.71]

o The goals of urban renewal are numerous, and at times in

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\* This does not impeach the goals of the Economic Opportunity Act, nor does it criticize its accomplishments. Rather, this raises the question of whether the act does enough, or indeed, whether or not it can accomplish its goals without contributing to desegregation of the Negro.

conflict. They are not clearly stated, and they have changed over time. Any listing of the goals of the program might include the reduction of substandard housing, the provision of better housing in its stead for the urban inhabitants, the retention of the central city middle-class white families, the provision of sites for public institutions, the strengthening of the economy of the city and the increase of its tax base. Above these specific goals is the desire to revitalize the city -- to make it a better place to live, work, and relax. Many of the conflicts between these goals have resulted from the concentration of the Negro in the central cities. The desire to attract middle income white families and to improve the tax base may lead to the clearance of low-income Negro housing and the construction of luxury housing in its place. The desire of universities and hospitals to expand may also result in the displacement of Negro households. The majority of families displaced by urban renewal have been Negro. Indeed, urban renewal has at times acquired the epithet of "Negro removal." Because of the constraints in the supply of housing available to Negroes, the displacement through urban renewal has often resulted in increased overcrowding and higher housing costs -- in short, urban renewal has often contributed to the housing problem that it claimed to be trying to overcome. In recent years, the Negro community has become better organized and able to resist displacement and an increasing segment of the public has begun to question the justice of using public funds, in effect, to subsidize the housing of the wealthy at the cost of the poor. Urban renewal has thus shifted its strategy, and rehabilitation, rather than slum clearance, is much more promin-



ent now than in earlier programs. It is not surprising to find that in an entity as complex as the modern city that goals for renewal might be in conflict. Many of these conflicts would exist even if the Negro were not so concentrated in the central cities. However, these conflicts are clearly made more acute by virtue of the segregation of the Negro population and the resulting limitations in their choice of housing outside of renewal areas. It is likely that if the Negro households were served by an open housing market that urban renewal might have been much more successful in accomplishing its goals and much less hardship would have been wrought upon the Negro population in the central cities. One might question if urban renewal will be better able in the future to more adequately house the center city population, which will be largely Negro, and at the same time provide an economically more viable, attractive, and desired core for the major metropolitan areas.

- Although much of the lower income populations of the major cities are yet inadequately housed, the public housing programs in many of these cities have added few units in recent years. While many factors have contributed to the disenchantment with the public housing program, the concentration of the Negro in the ghettos of these cities has been one of the major factors. [85, 232] More and more, public housing has become Negro housing. In 1965 the majority of the occupants in public housing were Negroes. In Baltimore and St. Louis about 80 percent were Negro, and in Chicago and Washington, D.C. more than 90 percent of public housing occupants were Negro. [IIIF-7] Public housing authorities have had difficulty building new units because there was little or no available land in the

ghettoes and that land which is available is extremely costly in the ghetto areas. Furthermore, ghetto housing tended to be segregated, and Negro groups have recently opposed public housing in ghettoes as it serves to reinforce the segregated housing pattern. Public housing authorities have had great difficulty in obtaining land in the cities outside of the ghettoes or in suburban areas where land is available and the cost is much less. Until Negroes are better able to live throughout the metropolis, it is likely that public housing and the new low and moderate income housing programs will continue to encounter difficulties in obtaining land. As a consequence, the supply of such housing will not be increased as needed, and that housing which is built is likely to displace families in the existing Negro areas and to be more costly than would have been necessary if a freer selection of sites had been possible.

These criticisms of the various Federal programs, and their local counterparts, are not meant to demean the goals of these programs or to detract from their many accomplishments. These programs seek noble goals and represent an increasing commitment on the part of the American people to improve the life of the poor and to create better urban areas. However, it is doubtful if these goals can be achieved if the Negroes continue to live in segregated center city areas and if their population in such areas continues to grow as it has in the past. In an effort to avoid the politically controversial issue of desegregation, these programs may end up serving as palliatives, rather than striking at the causes of the problems that they seek to solve. Such programs may be costly, less efficient than need be, and ineffective in accomplishing their goals in metropolitan America. The consequences of these high costs, inefficiency,

and ineffectiveness will be borne by all Americans.

Finally, many commentators on urban problems note the multiplicity of governmental jurisdictions, the inability of these governmental units to coordinate their efforts, and the resulting inefficiencies in metropolitan development. [243, 264] Part of these inefficiencies result from the complexities of the metropolis, but a large part results from the jealously guarded desire for local autonomy. Conflicts arise between communities, and in particular, between the center city and the suburban communities, as each seeks to serve its special interests. These conflicts of interest make the coordination of governments in metropolitan areas extremely difficult and severely hamper the ability of these governments to solve common problems through joint efforts.

Recently there have been important gains in intergovernmental coordination. [13, 263] However, as the center cities become increasingly Negro, and the suburbs remain primarily white, it is likely that the conflict between the center cities and the suburbs may increase substantially, and that all the metropolitan inhabitants may suffer by the inability of the metropolitan area to jointly solve problems. Metropolitan coordination could benefit all the residents in a number of ways -- for example, in such functional areas as water supply and distribution, waste disposal, flood control, the control of air and water pollution, regional recreation facilities, regional economic development, housing, employment, and transportation. [258] It is perhaps in the areas of housing and transportation where the effects of the concentration of the Negro upon metropolitan development are most clearly evident at present.

Efforts to constrain the housing choices for Negroes serve to limit housing choice for the white population as well. In many of the

suburban areas of the metropolitan areas vacant land is zoned for a much larger lot, single family residential housing that is warranted by the actual housing demand in the metropolitan areas. Such a suburban zoning strategy serves to limit access to most of the Negro population. It also serves to restrict the housing choices of lower and lower middle income white families in the suburbs. It also serves to locate much of the new metropolitan housing much further from the center and from employment opportunities than need be. In addition, the concentration of Negro housing in the central cities has probably prompted many white families to locate in suburban areas when they would have preferred living in the central cities. As the proportion of nonwhites continues to increase in the central cities it is likely that even more white households will feel housing opportunities in the central cities unacceptable to them. Thus Negroes may find themselves living in the central areas when they would prefer living in the suburbs; low income whites may find themselves in the same position; some white families who would prefer living in the central cities will find themselves in the suburbs; and other white families who prefer suburban living will find themselves living further out in the suburbs than they desire. Efforts to exclude the Negro from many residential areas may thus result in a distortion of the entire metropolitan housing market and needlessly restrict the housing choices of Negroes and whites alike. Furthermore, the residential polarizing of the white and Negro communities will decrease the likelihood that the various communities in the metropolitan area will work together to provide the broadest range of housing opportunities for the entire metropolitan population.

The decentralization of housing and jobs in the metropolitan

areas have already been noted. These trends have specific consequences for the transportation system. On the one hand, the white middle class workers in the central cities are increasingly being housed in the suburbs, and at greater and greater distances from the city center where many of the white collar jobs are still concentrated. On the other hand, the blue collar work force, and in particular the Negro blue collar work force, is concentrated in the central cities while blue collar jobs are increasing in suburban areas. The consequences of these location decisions are that large numbers of white workers commute into the cities each day while a growing number of Negro workers are commuting from the central cities to the suburbs. This pattern of cross commuting will undoubtedly become more clearly defined as the proportion of Negroes in the central cities increases and blue collar jobs continue to decentralize. While many white commuters would undoubtedly be living in the suburbs and working in the central cities even if there were no Negroes in the central cities, there will undoubtedly be an increasing number who would have been living in the central cities if there had been a lower proportion of Negroes in the neighborhoods and schools, if property taxes had been lower and services had been better in the central cities, and if those in the suburbs had been less confident that they could isolate themselves from Negroes by living in "exclusive" neighborhoods. It is also likely that many of the Negro suburban workers would prefer living nearer to work if they could have obtained suitable housing in the suburbs. In part, then, these commuting patterns result from constraints on housing choices for Negroes and whites. The consequences of these commuting patterns are (1) high time and dollar costs for the commuters, (2) central city traffic congestion which accelerates the decentralization of

business and industry and further weakens the economy of the cities, and (3) higher taxes for all Americans to pay for the capital investments in highways and rapid transit systems.

While urban problems would undoubtedly exist if there were no Negroes in the central cities, the increasing proportion of Negroes in the central cities serves to aggravate these problems, and to make their resolution more difficult. Something of the tangle of interrelationships has been indicated here. The cities are in financial difficulties because of the increasing expenditure needs and the declining employment and middle income population. These difficulties arise, in part, from the concentration of Negroes. This situation results in higher property taxes and a lower quality of services, both of which serve to drive more business and white households into the suburbs. The suburbs, in turn, seek to exploit this situation by restricting housing to middle income and upper middle income white families and by seeking to attract industries. As a result an increasing proportion of the population is traveling increasing distances to work, contributing to the traffic congestion and high transportation expenditures throughout the metropolitan areas. The Federal government has sought to encourage more rational metropolitan development patterns and to provide assistance to the central cities and to the poor and minority groups in these cities and elsewhere. However, these funds seem directed more to symptoms of the problem than to fundamental causes of the problem. The Federal programs fail to acknowledge the important part that the increasing number and proportion of Negroes in the central cities plays in these problems. Furthermore, as the central cities gain Negro majorities, and as issues become more polarized around Negro and white, between central city and suburb, it is likely

that the resolution of all problems that affect entire metropolitan areas will become increasingly difficult. If the central cities of seven of the largest metropolitan areas in the United States will have majority Negro populations by 1980, and if Negroes are largely excluded from the suburban areas, how likely is it that the cities will cooperate with the suburbs on metropolitan problems if the suburbs do not cooperate with the cities by providing housing opportunities for Negroes?

The Consequences: If Present Trends Continue

- By 1980, the central cities of 7 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas will have a majority nonwhite population. The number of Negroes confined to segregated areas will increase substantially.
- By 1980, most Negroes in the central cities will attend Negro schools.
- Job opportunities in the central cities will continue to diminish relative to the suburban areas. The reduction in job opportunities will be particularly severe for the lower skilled jobs.
- There will be an increasing gap between the lower and upper segments of the Negro population and between the Negro and white population in the larger metropolitan areas. The lower segment of the Negro population will become increasingly isolated and alienated.
- Revitalization of the central cities will become increasingly difficult because of the erosion of the tax base resulting from the exodus of middle class white residents, business, and industry and because of the increasing demands that will be placed upon the city by the alienated lower segment of the Negro population. Perhaps even more basic, the physical revitalization of the

central cities will be impossible because human renewal will be impossible. As President Johnson has eloquently stated:

"The ghettos of our major cities . . . represent fully as severe a denial of freedom and the fruits of American citizenship as more obvious injustices. As long as the color of a man's skin determines his choice of housing, no investment in the physical rebuilding of our cities will free the men and women living there." [35, p.1054]

- The need for metropolitan planning and coordination will increase at the same time that conditions favorable to needed cooperation will decrease. It is possible that many metropolitan areas will become polarized -- Negro central cities vs. white suburbs -- and, as a result, effective metropolitan planning and development will become impossible.

- As city center and suburban populations become polarized along racial lines, and as an increasing proportion of the national population resides in these polarized metropolitan communities, it is likely that racial conflicts will become sharper and that race relations in America will worsen.

Such a course of events would not be favorable for Negroes or whites. Yet, this is the course that has been charted by existing, self-sustaining demographic, social, and economic forces. It is unlikely that this course will alter much without specific and bold interventions.



## POLICY ALTERNATIVES

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Citizen groups and government bodies may intervene to alter the present course of events. Several different strategies for intervention have been attempted or proposed.

- Revitalize the central city.
- Revitalize the Negro ghetto.
- Desegregate the metropolitan area.
- Revitalize and integrate the ghetto, the central city, and the metropolitan area.

Unfortunately, these various strategies have often been considered as competing alternatives. Different groups have aligned themselves with each of these alternatives and it has been impossible to develop the type of consensus that is necessary to provide sufficient support for any one or combination of strategies in order to shape public policy. It is therefore particularly important to consider the strengths and weakness of each of these approaches with the hope that a rational evaluation may provide the basis for the reconciliation of differences and the mobilization of an adequate coalition to assure the requisite actions to alter the present course of events.

### Revitalize the Central City

Following World War II America undertook to renew her cities. The primary instrument for the accomplishment of this revitalization was the urban renewal program, defined in the Housing Act of 1949, and later revised. The urban renewal program had an unfortunate beginning. The existing ghetto areas were correctly perceived as contributing to the decline of the central cities. However, early efforts at city renewal

were not directed at rehabilitating the ghettos and their Negro inhabitants, but rather with clearing these areas and dislocating the Negroes. Although Negroes were not a majority of the population in the various cities (they were not even a majority among the poor in most cities) they nonetheless were those most likely to be removed by the clearance resulting from urban renewal. Urban renewal acquired the epithet of "Negro Removal." Furthermore, the land from which the Negroes were cleared was scheduled for luxury apartments, commercial, and other uses that might serve to increase the local tax base, but would certainly not satisfy the needs of the former Negro residents. Indeed, urban renewal actually increased the difficulties for the Negro by reducing through clearance the supply of low income housing that was available to him. [85]

However, these early efforts to remove the Negro and revitalize the city were doomed to failure. The Negro was not removed from the city. Instead, he shifted to an adjacent Negro area where the resulting overcrowding often served to speed the spread of physical blight. Also the market for luxury housing built where the Negroes formerly lived was found to be less than anticipated. Some luxury housing was built and remained vacant; in other cases the land was cleared, but the luxury housing was never built. As a consequence, there has been increasing recognition that the central cities cannot be revitalized unless the ghetto areas are renewed and the life conditions of the inhabitants improved. In recognition of this, the urban renewal program has been shifting from an emphasis upon clearance to one emphasizing rehabilitation, and the Model Cities Program is being enacted to coordinate efforts at physical renewal with those of social and economic development for the inhabitants of low income areas.

### Revitalize the Ghetto, No Desegregation

It will be impossible, in most cases, to renew the ghetto areas without desegregation. Most ghetto areas are presently characterized by little vacant land. If needed facilities are to be provided for schools, recreational and cultural activities, open space, shopping, services, and possibly industrial plants, some existing residences will have to be removed. There is not room in the present housing within the ghettos for those thus displaced, for there is already substantial overcrowding in the standing housing stock. In other words, housing would be needed outside the existing ghettos if present overcrowding is to be alleviated and needed facilities are to be provided.

Over and above this housing need, one must consider the needs resulting from population growth. The population projections indicate that between 1960 and 1980 the Negro populations in the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas may increase by 50 percent and the number of Negro households may increase by 34 percent. If the present ghetto areas cannot provide sufficient space for those already living there, how will they ever accommodate such a population increase?

One might safely conclude, at least in most cities, that the ghettos cannot be physically renewed unless Negro occupied housing outside the ghettos increases substantially. The social and economic consequences of limiting the expansion of Negro housing to the central cities, though outside the present ghetto areas, have been defined in the previous section. That, essentially, is the existing trend.

### Desegregate the Metropolitan Area and Integrate the Ghetto

Again, the limits of this strategy may be more clearly revealed by some simple arithmetic. The Human Relations Consultant, George Schermer,

has provided some revealing calculations in this regard. For Washington, D.C. he noted:

"No more than 100 (Negro households) a year are finding housing in a truly integrated basis throughout the metropolitan area. . . It is estimated that the average annual rate of growth for the 1960 to 1980 period will equal 8,800.

"If we were to simply freeze the ghettos at their present size -- hold the line there -- and integrate the additional families only, it would be necessary to accommodate 8,800 non-white families annually in the suburban areas.

"If the Washington planning authorities were to set a goal of a 50-50 balance of white and non-white population for the District of Columbia by the year 2,000 it would be necessary to accommodate an average of 12,000 non-white families on a dispersed pattern in the suburbs for 35 years and to attract about 4,000 white families annually into the District to re-establish a racial balance there." [272, p.5]

In 1960, George Schermer had made similar calculations for the city of Philadelphia. He noted in 1966:

". . . that an average of 6,000 Negro families would have to be accommodated in the suburbs annually for 40 years and from 2,500 to 3,000 white families accommodated in the city's then existing ghettos every year for the same period.

"It is now six years later. Thus far Philadelphia has moved only a little way. Perhaps a hundred or so Negro families are moving away from the ghetto annually but several thousand are being added each year. By 1970 the ghetto will be at least 25 percent larger. . . ." [272, p.9]

Such calculations are not offered with the hope of discouraging advocates of desegregation. However, these calculations do serve to indicate the difficulties involved in desegregating the metropolitan community as a result of the numbers involved. Perhaps more important, they indicate that desegregation cannot be a short term goal. Even an active and successful program of desegregation will leave many Negroes living in the ghetto areas for many years more.

Furthermore, those Negroes that do desegregate may not find their difficulties ended. The psychological damage that may have resulted

from poverty and degradation, an inferior education, lack of job skills -- these are handicaps that many in the Negro community share as a consequence of racial discrimination. Desegregation may facilitate overcoming these handicaps, but desegregation will not automatically remove them. It is likely that special efforts will be necessary for many Negroes inside and outside the ghetto if Negroes are to truly participate in American society on an equal footing with whites.

#### Ghetto Revitalization and Metropolitan Desegregation

In reality, neither ghetto revitalization nor metropolitan desegregation can be accomplished independently. They complement each other in a number of ways:

- Overcrowding in the ghetto cannot be reduced and needed facilities provided unless housing opportunities for Negroes outside of present Negro areas increase.
- If physical and social renewal occurs within the ghettos, more Negroes will be equipped to take advantage of housing opportunities in white areas and resistance to Negro entry into these areas may diminish.
- White households are unlikely to be attracted back into the central cities or into areas near, or within, existing ghettos unless the Negro areas are revitalized.
- The possible return of the white middle class and a slower rate of decentralization of metropolitan jobs could probably be achieved as a consequence of ghetto revitalization. In turn, a slowing or reversal of the white exodus from the central cities could result in a strengthened tax base for the city, permitting greater expenditures for ghetto revitalization and providing

more jobs for ghetto residents.

Furthermore, one can say something about the sequence that will be necessary if these changes are to occur. In all ghetto areas revitalization is an urgent need and necessary steps to accomplish the physical and human revitalization cannot begin too soon. In most ghetto areas the high intensity of land use and extensive room overcrowding require that revitalization cannot occur without initial desegregation. Finally, white households cannot be expected to return to the central cities in significant numbers before the ghetto revitalization is well under way. This sequence of steps is contrary to past and present public policy. Most cities began urban renewal with the belief that they could renew their cities without improving the conditions of life for the ghetto inhabitants. Recent shifts in urban renewal policy and the newly enacted Model Cities program reflect a growing awareness that the city cannot be revitalized unless the ghetto areas and their inhabitants are successfully revitalized. However, neither urban renewal nor the Model Cities program are structured in such a way as to acknowledge the interdependence between ghetto revitalization and desegregation. It is doubtful that such programs will be successful in achieving their goals because it is unlikely that central cities can be revitalized unless the ghetto areas and their inhabitants are revitalized, and it is doubtful that this will occur unless large numbers of housing opportunities for Negroes are created outside of the ghetto. In short, desegregation may be a necessary precondition for ghetto revitalization, and ghetto revitalization is a precondition for city revitalization.\*

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\* It should again be noted that this discussion is concerned with the large metropolitan areas, and particularly those with more densely developed central areas. In small communities and those with low

### Social Class and Desegregation

Advocates of desegregation have often assumed that their efforts should be directed towards the higher income Negro families, the "deserving" middle class. Such families can most readily afford equity payments for housing and they are generally considered better financial risks. Their social behavior is thought to better accord with that of the white neighborhoods, and their limited number reduces the risk of nonwhite inundation of a neighborhood. Furthermore, middle income Negroes are thought to desire integrated housing more than those of lower social classes, and it is commonly believed that the risk of "back-lash" is lessened since these families may be less objectionable to their white neighbors. Also, white middle class families are thought to harbor less prejudice than lower class white families. [268]

"Fair Housing Flop?", the lead article in a recent issue of the Wall Street Journal, summarizes most of the efforts to integrate the upper income families: "In some cases, once a number of whites has been found willing to sell homes to Negroes, few if any Negroes ventured forth to buy. . . ." [February 1, 1965] Well organized Fair Housing Groups in some of the larger metropolitan areas have obtained thousands of pledges by white home owners, but few of these groups have been able to recruit Negro buyers at a rate of more than 100 per year. There are probably many reasons for this lack of success.\*

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density development and vacant land in or near the ghetto areas, it is possible that desegregation may not be a necessary first step, though it may nonetheless be a desirable step in development.

- \* Many standards may be used in evaluating the success of an endeavor. Many who have participated in the Fair Housing Programs have been rewarded by a deep sense of personal satisfaction, and a beginning has been made. However, when the present accomplishments of desegregation are measured against need, these programs have been unsuc-

- The higher income Negroes are not as seriously disadvantaged in their housing as are other Negro families. Though, at a given rent level they are somewhat more likely than white households to live in substandard housing, they are also likely to obtain more space than the white households.

- Higher income Negroes who wish to avoid the disadvantages of ghetto schools may enroll their children in private schools more easily than lower income Negroes.

- Higher income Negroes are less likely than lower income Negroes to improve the occupational opportunities by moving to integrated and suburban areas. They are more likely to be providing professional and business services to a Negro clientele. Furthermore, many white collar jobs are increasing in the central cities. It is the lower skilled jobs that are more rapidly decentralizing.

- Higher income Negroes are likely to be the older, more established element of the community. They may lose in status and prestige by moving out of their community. Furthermore, these families may be most sensitive to the rebuffs that they may anticipate if they move into white neighborhoods.

- The present Civil Rights Movement has altered the sentiments of many of these families towards the rest of the Negro community. These families may now feel more guilt in leaving the Negro community than would lower income Negro families.

Advocates and opponents of desegregation are likely to stereotype other Negro families as "lower class." Such families are often typed

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cessful. They have benefited some families, but they have made little or no impact upon conditions in the ghetto.



as "multi-problem" families. Broken homes, unemployment, large households, and a high rate of juvenile delinquency may characterize these low income families. The members of these families may be alienated, have low self-esteem, and experience a sense of powerlessness. Advocates of desegregation avoid these families because it is believed that these families would not want to expose themselves to the uncertainties of integration and they could not afford housing outside the ghetto. It is believed that such families could not be successfully integrated, and that efforts to integrate these families would only increase white resistance to desegregation.

Those who argue for the revitalization of the ghetto and are least concerned about desegregation may be most concerned with improving the conditions of this group. It is this group that would probably benefit most by the increase in self-esteem that can result from organized efforts of protest and self-improvement. It is among members of this group that improved self esteem may be a necessary precondition for upward mobility. Negroes and whites may perceive the members of this group as unlikely candidates for desegregation, and they may oppose desegregation primarily because they feel it is irrelevant to those Negroes who are most in need of help and it would benefit those least in need of help.

While most Negroes are often stereotyped as belonging to one or the other of these two groups -- the Negro middle class or the multi-problem lower class -- neither of these segments of the Negro community are majority segments. If one considers the lower class to be those households with incomes below \$3,000 a year and the middle class to be those households with incomes of \$6,000 or more, one finds that in the larger Northern metropolitan areas more Negro households fall between

these two groups than are found in either one of them. We shall call this in-between group the working class, those with family incomes between \$3,000 and \$6,000 a year. These households comprise 40 percent of all Negro households in these larger metropolitan areas. [11G-1]

More than 4 out of 5 Negro families in this income range are stable families -- that is, both the husband and wife are present. Actually, about 3 out of 4 Negro families in the larger Northern metropolitan areas are stable, and even among those families with incomes below \$3,000 a year, more than 50 percent have both spouses present. [11G-1]

Stereotypes about juvenile delinquency, another indicator of disorganization or instability, are equally misleading. Although juvenile delinquency rates may be two or three times as high in ghetto areas as in the rest of the city, nevertheless, in most ghettos fewer than 10 percent of Negro youth come into direct conflict with the law. [37, p.87]

These various measures indicate that most Negroes fall between the seriously disorganized members of the lower classes and those of the middle income; most Negroes live in stable families; and only a small minority come into direct conflict with the law. Although advocates of desegregation have largely ignored this group, it is the majority group of the Negro community and the members of this group may have the most to gain from desegregation. Indeed they may be the most likely clientele for a policy of desegregation.

- The Negro households could improve their housing substantially by moving out from the ghetto and there is a large supply of housing in white neighborhoods that is within their means.\*

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\* The relationship between income, the existing housing supply, and the potential for new construction will be discussed below.

- As the more mobile of these lower income families seek fulfillment of middle class goals -- better services, recreation, a good education for their children -- they may seek residences in white communities as they cannot afford the alternatives that wealthier Negro families manage -- expensive vacations, private schools, etc.

- The workers in these families are probably those most likely to be in skilled and semi-skilled occupations -- those occupations which are declining most rapidly in the central cities while expanding in suburban areas. It is these families that may increase their occupational opportunities or reduce the costs of the journey to work most by moving to suburban white communities.

- In comparison to the Negro middle class, these households are likely to be younger; they are more likely to be renters; and they are likely to be less well integrated into the social fabric of the community. These attributes are concomitants of high residential mobility. Furthermore, these households may be less sensitive than higher income Negroes to the social rejection that may accompany their move to white communities.

- A number of studies of successfully integrated projects and neighborhoods indicate that the white household is more likely to base its location decision upon the quality and cost of housing than upon the presence or absence of Negroes. Integrated housing has been marketed to white families with a wide range of income and educational backgrounds, and the evidence does not appear to exist to support the proposition that white families with incomes between \$3,000 and \$6,000 are less likely to live in integrated neighborhoods

than wealthier white families.\* [129, 250]

In short, the working class Negro household, those with incomes between \$3,000 and \$6,000, are seriously disadvantaged by living in the ghetto; they are in need, and many seriously desire to improve their life conditions; they may benefit more than other groups by residential desegregation; and resistance to the desegregation of these Negro households may not be as strong as often anticipated.

Assumptions about class characteristics of the Negro community have usually resulted in narrowly conceived, and generally unsuccessful, efforts at desegregation. However, there is a great deal of variation within the Negro community -- variations in income, family stability, alienation, or integration into the social fabric of the local community. If metropolitan desegregation is going to occur at a scale that is necessary for ghetto and center city revitalization, then desegregation efforts are going to have to respond more sensitively to the variations within the Negro ghetto community and a much more varied cross-section of the Negro community is going to have to participate in desegregation efforts. Negro leaders within the ghetto will have to place a higher priority upon desegregation, and the white middle class, who have so far led the efforts at desegregation, will have to relinquish some of their class assumptions.

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\* Although higher income white families indicate less prejudice on opinion polls, it is possible that higher income white families may have the economic capacity to more readily exercise their prejudices by living in, or moving to, exclusive white neighborhoods. Also, higher income white households are apt to exclude Negroes by quiet and subtle control of the housing market whereas lower income whites bring more attention to their efforts. There are undoubtedly wide variations within white communities of different social and economic levels. Negroes may be effectively excluded from Cicero, but until recently, they were also effectively excluded from the exclusive suburban community of Gross Point, Michigan.

## OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHANGE

To alter the present course of events will not be easy. Efforts to revitalize the ghetto will be difficult and costly. They will require imagination and perseverance. The large increase in the rate of metropolitan desegregation that is required will not be easy either. We have examined the need for change and given some indication of the desired direction for change. Let us now examine the possibilities for directing change in desired directions.

- First, the possibilities for revitalizing the ghetto will be explored. The promise and limitations of the Model Cities program to accomplish this goal will be explored.
- Second, the potential for desegregating Negroes within the existing housing supply will be examined. The financial ability of Negroes to obtain housing in white areas in the central cities and in the suburbs will be defined.
- Third, the significance of new construction in the shaping of future metropolitan development will be examined.
- Finally, the promise of metropolitan planning and inter-governmental coordination will be discussed.

## Revitalization of the Ghetto and the Demonstration Cities Program

In recognition of the shortcomings of previous efforts to revitalize the cities and their ghetto areas, the President proposed a new approach and Congress accepted this new approach with the enactment of the Demonstration Cities program in 1966.\* [261, 270] This program has

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\* This program was initially referred to as the Demonstration Cities program, but it has been referred to more recently as the Model Cities program or the program for model neighborhoods in demonstration cities.

not yet been implemented, but it holds forth great promise. The act offers Federal assistance to local communities for a concerted effort to improve selected low income areas if local community proposals meet a number of requirements, including the following:

- The program should be comprehensive and well coordinated. The programs must be conceived so as (1) to rebuild or revitalize large slum and blighted areas; (2) to expand the supply of low and moderate income housing; (3) to expand job and income opportunities; (4) to reduce dependence on welfare payments; (5) to improve educational facilities and programs; (6) to combat disease and ill health; (7) to reduce the incidence of crime and delinquency; (8) to enhance recreational and cultural opportunities; (9) to establish better access between homes and jobs; and (10) in general, to improve living conditions for the people who reside in these areas.

- The program should provide opportunities for the involvement of the residents of the model neighborhood area in the planning of the program. The execution of the program should provide maximum opportunities for employing and, if necessary, training residents of the area.

- The program should contribute to a well-balanced city with maximum opportunities in the choice of housing accommodations for all citizens of all income levels.

- The program should be consistent with comprehensive planning in the entire urban or metropolitan area.

- The program should include analysis of the costs and benefits of alternative courses of action to meet urban needs. [276]

The Demonstration Cities program promises, for the first time,

a framework within which a concerted attack upon the problems of the ghetto can be undertaken. However, the act also has serious limitations.

- The program is inadequately funded. It is estimated that it could serve about 70 neighborhoods, and there are hundreds of neighborhoods in need of the benefits of such a program.

- It is not clear that the program will contribute to desegregation. The provision for maximizing housing choices could provide the means for encouraging desegregation. However, the act, as originally proposed, required that "Equal opportunity in the choice of housing must be assured to every race." The provision was eliminated from the final version of the act passed by Congress, and in addition, a provision was added which prohibits this program from requiring the racial balancing of schools through the transfer of students.

- This act is directed at cities, and in particular, low income areas within the cities. Although low income area plans are required to be consistent with urban or metropolitan plans, there is no provision for assuring that urban and metropolitan plans will be developed so as to better serve the needs of the population in low income areas. The difficulties of the ghetto residents that result from the distribution of housing, job, and other opportunities within the metropolitan area have previously been defined, and this act does not provide any assurance of changes in this distribution outside the central city.

Nonetheless, these shortcomings may be momentarily overlooked (1) if it is recalled that this is a demonstration program with the intent of learning how to meet the needs of the residents of low income

areas and the city; (2) if the analysis of costs and benefits of the program are honest, thorough, and accurate; (3) if the shortcomings that may be defined in the analysis of costs and benefits are overcome in subsequent legislation; and (4) if the demonstration program is subsequently expanded to a scale consistent with need. In short, the Demonstration Cities program offers a framework for change and a promise for the revitalization of the ghetto and the city, but it does not offer adequate means to accomplish the revitalization of the ghetto now.

#### Desegregation and the Existing Housing Stock

Desegregation is often thought to be impeded by the comparatively low incomes of Negro households. The argument runs as follows: families at different income levels live in different areas of the metropolis; Negroes have lower incomes than whites; therefore, Negroes live in different areas of the metropolis than whites. This argument can be tested. A calculation of the ability of Negro households to obtain housing in white areas provides a test of this argument, but, more important, it provides a measure of potential Negro housing demand in areas of the metropolis that are now predominantly white.

The expected distribution of Negro households can be calculated on the basis of family incomes, the amount spent on housing, and the cost of housing at different locations in the metropolitan area. For example, if Negro families account for 10 percent of all families with incomes above \$10,000 and if income alone determined residential location, then it would be expected that Negroes would account for 10 percent of families with incomes above \$10,000 in each area of the metropolis. By making similar calculations for each income bracket, the "expected" number of nonwhites in each area can be determined. The difference between the



expected number and the actual number gives a measure of potential Negro demand in an area.

Karl and Alma Taeuber have calculated the expected distribution of the Negro population in the central cities of 6 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas.\* They found that in all cities at least 50 percent of the Negro households should be living in census tracts other than those in which they lived. They found that if Negro household location were determined solely by the present expenditures for housing and the existing housing supply, that housing segregation would be reduced between 70 and 90 percent in the six cities. They also found that, with the exception of Detroit, comparatively low Negro incomes and housing expenditures accounted for somewhat more segregation in 1950 than in 1960, although even in 1950 the cost of housing was not a primary factor accounting for segregation.

Similar calculations can be performed for the metropolitan area. For these calculations it is assumed that whites and nonwhites at a given income level are equally likely to be home owners and that whites and nonwhites at the same income level are equally likely to live in suburban areas. If nonwhites were so located, there would be a major redistribution of the nonwhite population within the metropolitan area.

- Among the nonwhite renters in the central city, some would remain renters in the central city; some would become owners in the central city; some would remain renters, but move to the suburbs; and others would become owners in the process of moving

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\* The six cities included Baltimore, Washington, D.C., Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia, and St. Louis. For details of the calculations and the results, cf. [180; 181, pp.78-95]

to the suburbs. The result of these various moves would be a decline of more than 40 percent in the number of nonwhite renters in the 11 cities combined.\*

- Among the nonwhite home owners in the central city, some would remain as home owners in the central city, but many would become owners in the suburbs. For the 11 cities combined, the number of owners in the central city would decline by about 15 percent. More central city owners than this would move to the suburbs, but many would be replaced by former renters in the central city. As a result, the proportion of nonwhite home ownership would increase substantially in all the cities.

- Many nonwhite renters living in the suburbs would become home owners. However, their ranks would be more than replaced by the flow of nonwhites from the central cities. For the 11 metropolitan areas combined, the number of renters in the suburbs would increase by more than 75 percent.

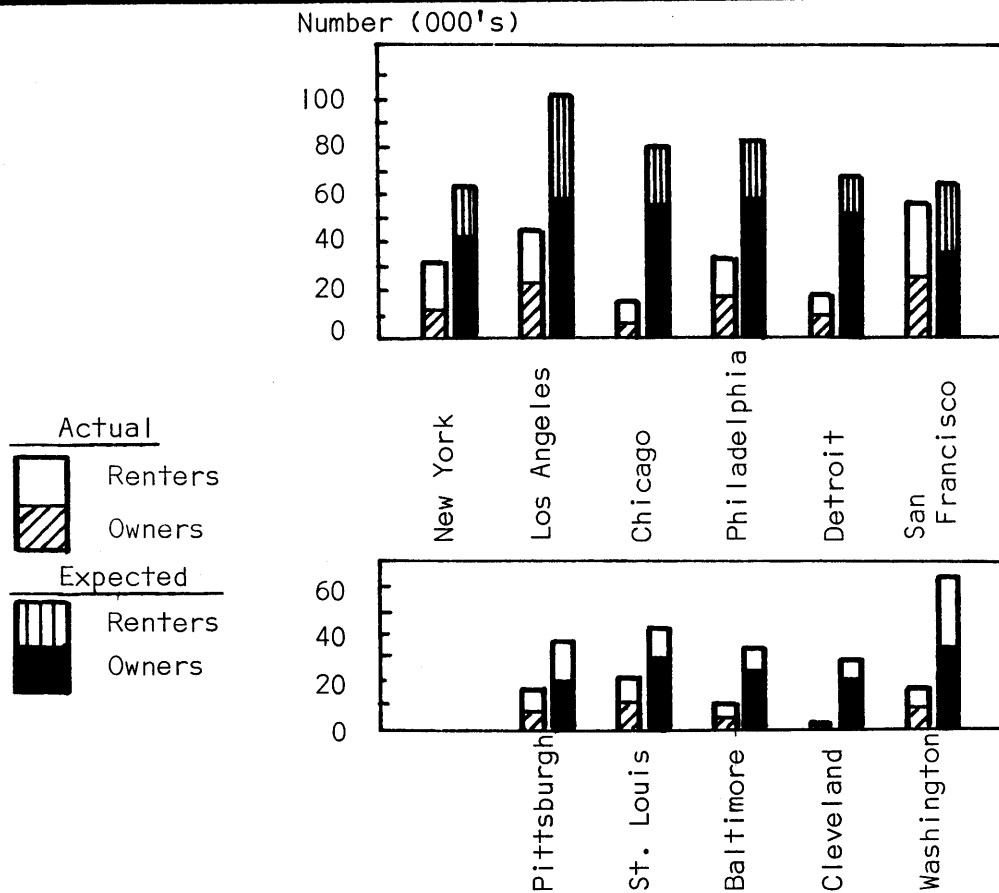
- The largest changes would occur among home owners in the suburbs. Their ranks would be swollen by renters from the central city and suburbs and by owners moving from the central city to the suburbs. For the 11 metropolitan areas combined, nonwhite suburban home owners would increase by about 225 percent.

- The net result of all these potential moves would be to increase the proportion of nonwhites living in the suburbs from 16 percent to 40 percent of the metropolitan nonwhite population for the 11 areas combined. In New York, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh, and

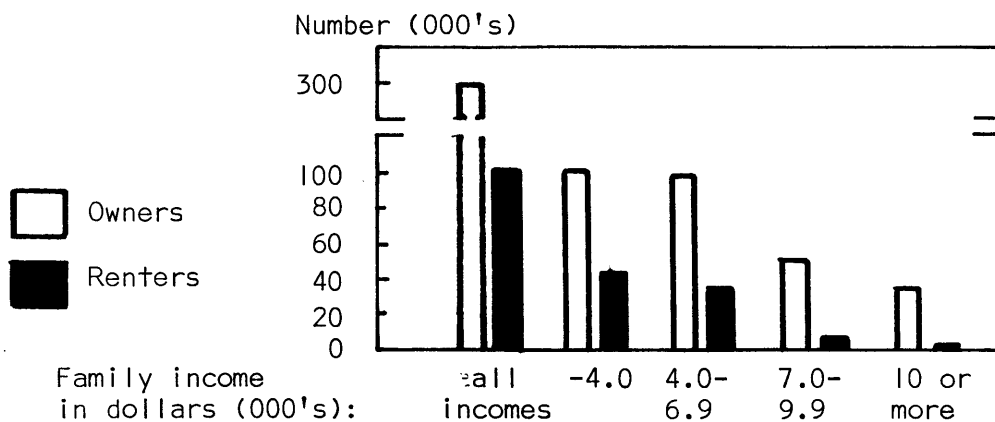
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\* The data necessary for these calculations are not available for Boston. The remaining 11 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas have been included. [111A-10]

32 NUMBER OF NONWHITE OWNERS AND RENTERS EXPECTED OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES IF NONWHITES AND WHITES OF SIMILAR INCOME WERE EQUALLY LIKELY TO BE HOMEOWNERS AND TO LIVE OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY: 1960



DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ACTUAL AND EXPECTED NUMBER OF NONWHITES OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITIES, BY TENURE AND FAMILY INCOME. ( II AREAS COMBINED ): 1960



Source: [IIIA-II]

St. Louis the number of nonwhites would about double in the suburbs. In Washington, D.C. and Baltimore suburban nonwhites would more than triple in numbers; in Detroit they would increase about fourfold; in Chicago, about fivefold; and in Cleveland, about twentyfold.

- Nearly 3 in 4 new suburban dwellers would be home owners. The proportion of home owners, in relation to renters, would increase as incomes increase, but even among those with incomes below \$4,000 a year, more than 2 in 3 additional suburban households would be in owner occupied housing.

- More than one third of the expected new nonwhite suburbanites would have incomes below \$4,000; more than two-thirds would have incomes below \$7,000. A larger proportion of the higher income nonwhite population than the lower income nonwhite population would be expected in the suburbs. However, because of the relatively small number of higher income nonwhites, they would account for a relatively small part of the total nonwhite increase.

These calculations reveal a much greater variety of housing in the suburbs than is generally imagined. They point to a large supply of low and moderate income housing already existing in many suburban communities. They suggest that the existing suburban housing stock provides a large supply of housing within the economic means of nonwhite households, and that much of this stock is even within reach of the lower income Negro families. The existing suburban housing supply, in terms of housing cost, provides ample opportunities for desegregation now.

#### Desegregation and New Construction

Though precise estimates vary, there is general agreement that the population of the major metropolitan areas of the United States will

more than double in the 40 years between 1960 and the year 2000. [99, 269] The supply of housing in these areas will have to double, and facilities for education, recreation, health, welfare, and transportation will have to be provided. It will be as though there were 40 years in which to rebuild the entire metropolitan America. The structure of metropolitan areas will be reshaped. The future of our metropolitan areas will depend, in large part, on the decisions shaping this metropolitan growth and development in the coming years.

At present, most new construction in suburban areas is beyond the reach of Negro households. Much of the new housing is too expensive, and those Negroes that can afford the new construction are often barred by discriminatory practices. However, this situation is neither necessary nor inevitable. Legislation could bar discriminatory practices and existing Federal programs already suggest the means for adding housing that could be within the economic limits of low and moderate income Negro and white families.\* While existing programs may not be adequate to the need, they could be much better utilized and they could provide a framework and an important first step on the lengthy road ahead. Aids provided by the Department of Housing and Urban Development include: [275, 277]

- Low rent Public Housing programs which grant aids to local housing authorities for the construction of low rent units and permit the sale of detached and semi-detached units to the tenants.

- Senior citizen housing programs which provide direct

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\* New housing should be distinguished from older housing. The rents and values of most new housing today are substantially above those of older dwelling units.

loans or mortgage insurance to nonprofit sponsors of housing for the elderly.

- FHA administered rent supplement programs.
- FHA insured mortgage loans to non-profit, limited dividend, and certain other bodies for the construction of low and moderate income housing.
- FHA insured loans for low and moderate income rental housing available to builder-sellers, public agencies, private nonprofit corporations or associations, and cooperatives.
- FHA insured loans to low and moderate income families for home purchase.
- Regular FHA mortgage insurance.
- FHA mortgage insurance for servicemen and veterans
- Grants not exceeding \$5,000,000 to public and private bodies or agencies for the purpose of developing and demonstrating new or improved means of providing housing for low income families.
- FHA mortgage insurance for land development costs up to \$250,000,000 to facilitate the development of new communities with a diversified housing supply.

Additional aids are available through programs administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity. [255, 278]

- Community Action Program grants are available to nonprofit sponsors of housing for low income families to provide them with funds for technical assistance and training and interest free loans for preliminary development costs.\*

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\* The income criteria defining low income families is a function of family size, and could include a substantial segment of the \$3,000 to \$6,000 income group.

- Community Action Program grants are available to non-profit sponsors of housing for low income families to provide them with "seed money" to attract additional financing or permit the use of a revolving fund for the purchase, desegregation and/or rehabilitation, and subsequent sale of rental units or homes.
- Community Action Program grants are available to provide guidance and a variety of services, including assistance in finding new housing and adapting to new neighborhoods.
- Community Action Research and Demonstration funds are available for developing new programs to better meet the needs of low income families.

The level of funding and the nature of these specific programs will undoubtedly change from year to year. However, these programs have rarely been used to foster desegregation, and they offer a rich resource to assist in this end. The volume of new construction expected in the major metropolitan areas in the coming decades assures a potential for substantially altering the distribution of Negroes and whites in these areas. The use of existing and future Federal programs affords the opportunity to foster desegregation in the new construction. The effective use of these programs depends upon the voluntary actions of public agencies and private citizen groups. It depends upon the creation of organizations with a purpose of fostering desegregation and a competence for utilizing these and similar programs to accomplish their ends.

#### The Role of Metropolitan Planning and Coordination

The location and character of new housing will not only be determined by the development decisions of public agencies and private individuals and organizations, but it will be guided by the decisions of

local planning agencies. The determination of land use, local zoning and building code requirements, the provision of roads and public transits and sewerage -- these are among the decisions local planning agencies will shape. These are among the decisions that will shape the future of metropolitan areas. If these decisions are reached through consideration of narrow self-interest by individual local communities, it is likely that Negroes will be largely excluded from the suburban areas. If these decisions are defined within a context of broader self-interest and rational metropolitan development goals, then it is likely that Negroes will be included in suburban communities.

Metropolitan planning can contribute to broader housing choice, improved transportation and communication systems, and the more convenient disposition of housing in relation to employment opportunities. [258] The benefits that would accrue from effective metropolitan planning would surely benefit the white suburban residents. They would also benefit the Negro inhabitants of the metropolitan areas.

All the large metropolitan areas and most of the smaller metropolitan areas are currently engaged in some form of metropolitan planning. However the deliberations of these agencies rarely involve the consequences of their decisions upon the racial distribution of the metropolitan population. Yet an earlier section of this chapter has indicated the relationships between metropolitan development and the location of Negroes within the metropolis. Metropolitan planning is yet in its infancy, and the benefits that would result from effective metropolitan planning are long term. It offers the promise of guiding growth for the benefit of the residents of the region. It remains to be seen if metropolitan planning can fulfill this promise.



The effectiveness of metropolitan planning will be limited by the scope of issues dealt with in the plans of these agencies. However, it is also limited by the ability of these agencies to implement their plans. Most planning agencies serve in advisory capacities to local governments, but they have limited ability to influence local decisions. Thus decisions affecting the metropolitan future fall back upon the multitude of local governing bodies and their constituencies within the metropolis. Numerous organizational arrangements have recently been instituted in order to better coordinate local governmental activities and facilitate metropolitan planning and development. It may be several years before these various intergovernmental organizations are functioning smoothly. However, in large part, the orderly development of the metropolitan areas will depend upon the success of these efforts at intergovernmental coordination.

In the immediate future metropolitan planning and intergovernmental coordination will probably contribute little to ghetto and center city revitalization and the desegregation of the Negro. Efforts to achieve these goals cannot wait for the fruits of metropolitan planning and intergovernmental coordination to materialize. However, in the long run -- in 10, 20, and 40 years -- the future of metropolitan areas and the future of the Negro in these areas will, at least in part, be determined by the successes and failures of these efforts which are only beginning today.

SUMMARY:  
TOWARDS A MORE JUST AND RATIONAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE METROPOLITAN AREAS

In the next forty years the metropolitan areas will more than double in population and area. This affords a potential for change in the structure of metropolitan areas and the distribution of the population. Future metropolitan form and the life styles and opportunities for Negroes and whites will be largely determined by decisions made in the coming decades. The following conclusions emerge from this study:

- Negroes in metropolitan areas will remain disadvantaged unless the ghettos and their inhabitants are revitalized.
- The ghettos cannot be revitalized without a substantial increase in the supply of housing available to Negroes outside the ghetto areas.
- The central cities will not be revitalized unless the ghettos are.
- Suburbanites will be adversely affected if the cities, and their ghettos, are not revitalized.

Present efforts to desegregate have met with little success. However, these efforts have been largely confined to middle class Negro home owners. Desegregation efforts may be more effective if:

- Organizations promoting desegregation adapt their methods to reach a broader cross-section of the Negro community.
- Organizations promoting desegregation broaden their scope of action to include (1) desegregating existing rental units and homes in a broad price spectrum and (2) utilizing governmental aids for increasing the supply of low and moderate income housing available to Negro and white families.

The existing housing stock offers opportunities for the desegregation of a broad cross-section of Negroes now. Existing Federal aids can increase the supply of new construction available for Negroes in a wide range of income categories in the near and more distant future. The success of such efforts will probably be uneven within the metropolitan area. Metropolitan planning and intergovernmental cooperation offer the prospect for more coordinated and consistent change throughout the metropolitan area in years ahead.

Desegregation, for the Negro, is only a means to an end -- a means through which he may more fully participate in American society. Desegregation can facilitate the achievement of that end, but desegregation, alone, cannot accomplish that end. Special efforts will be required to renew the Negro's self-esteem, improve his educational achievements, and raise his job skills. But special efforts will also have to be made to remove the barriers of discrimination that have withheld the just rewards for hard work, the development of occupational skills, and high educational achievement.

Desegregation, for the white, is also a means to an end -- a means through which more viable metropolitan areas and a more just society can be created. The possibility of building metropolitan areas in which justice prevails; poverty and discrimination are eliminated; housing, job, recreation, cultural, and other opportunities are increased to provide a fuller and more meaningful life for the entire metropolitan population -- this is the possibility, and responsibility, of today's generation. The realization of this possibility will require difficult and occasionally heroic decisions by millions of Negro and white Americans. The time for decision is now. The decisions made, or avoided, today will shape life in the metropolitan areas tomorrow.

## **APPENDIX**

SERIES I:

SELECT SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND HOUSING CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION  
OF THE UNITED STATES, BY RACE, SMSA SIZE, AND REGION OF RESIDENCE:1960

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NOTES ON TABLES: SERIES I AND II

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Tabulations for the tables in Series I and II were prepared from information contained in the One-in-One Thousand Sample drawn from the 1960 U.S. Censuses of Population and Housing.\* The users of these data are obliged to include the following notation:

"Certain data used in this publication were derived by the author from a computer tape furnished under a joint project sponsored by the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Population Council and containing selected 1960 Census information from a 0.1 percent sample of the population of the United States. Neither the Census Bureau nor the Population Council assumes any responsibility for the validity of any of the figures or interpretations of the figures published herein based on this material." [204, Supplement I, p.10]

The tape was prepared for final processing by Wren McMains, at the M.I.T. Department of City and Regional Planning. The tape was processed at the Computation Center at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The population of the United States, based on the One-in-One Thousand Sample, is estimated at 179,067,000, compared to a full census enumeration of 179,323,000. The estimated Negro population is 18,380,000, compared to a census total of 18,849,000.

In the following tables the Negro sample excludes other non-whites and the white sample excludes whites with Spanish surnames. The Negro sample for the United States is 18,380 and the white sample for the United States is 155,370. In the Northern metropolitan areas with populations of one million or more, the Negro sample size is 5,344 and the white sample includes 47,082.

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\* The U.S. Bureau of the Census has published a description of the tape. [204]

\* Base less than 100

5 WHITE

Residence in 1960			Age of Residents in 1960									
			Total	Less than 17		17-24		25-44		45 or more		
				North	South	North	South	North	South	North	South	
United States: total												
North and West	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	94	6	97	3	92	8	92	8	93	7
		500,000-1,000,000	91	9	95	5	88	12	88	12	89	11
		less than 500,000	94	6	96	4	93	7	91	9	93	7
	non-metropolitan areas		94	6	97	3	93	7	92	8	94	6
	total		94	6	96	4	92	8	91	9	93	7
South	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	18	82	10	90	20	80	23	77	22	78
		500,000-1,000,000	21	79	12	88	24	76	23	77	30	70
		less than 500,000	15	85	10	90	17	83	16	84	17	83
	non-metropolitan areas		7	93	5	95	10	90	8	92	8	92
	total		12	88	8	92	14	86	14	86	14	86

IB-2 MIGRATION STATUS: PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1960 BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1955 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF BIRTH AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY PLACE OF RESIDENCE IN 1955)

Place of Residence in 1960		Place of Birth		Place of Residence in 1955				
				Same State			Different State	
				Same House	Different House		Metropolitan	Non-metropolitan
					Metropolitan	Non-metropolitan		
United States: total								
		Different State	Same State					
North and West	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	62	38	42	49	0	5	4
	500,000-1,000,000	60	40	44	43	0	7	7
	less than 500,000	61	39	43	47	1	4	5
	non-metropolitan areas	54	46	59	4	25	7	5
	total	62	38	43	46	2	5	4
South	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	34	66	45	47	2	3	3
	500,000-1,000,000	26	74	48	46	2	1	2
	less than 500,000	19	81	53	40	4	2	2
	non-metropolitan areas	8	92	58	2	37	2	9
	total	15	85	54	20	22	2	2

B. WHITE

Place of Residence in 1960		Place of Birth		Place of Residence in 1955				
				Same State			Different State	
				Same House	Different House		Metropolitan	Non-metropolitan
					Metropolitan	Non-metropolitan		
United States: total								
		Different State	Same State					
North and West	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	31	69	51	39	2	6	3
	500,000-1,000,000	39	61	46	38	3	8	4
	less than 500,000	28	72	52	36	4	5	4
	non-metropolitan areas	25	75	55	5	32	4	4
	total	29	71	52	26	13	5	4
South	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	39	61	45	38	3	10	4
	500,000-1,000,000	43	57	41	38	3	11	6
	less than 500,000	35	65	40	38	6	10	6
	non-metropolitan areas	21	79	51	3	37	5	4
	total	29	71	47	20	22	7	5



IC-1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Elementary School		High School		College
		0-6 Years	7 or 8 Years	9-11 Years	12 Years	13 Years or More
United States: total		39	22	20	13	7
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	24	24	25	19	8
	500,000-1,000,000	23	24	24	20	9
	less than 500,000	29	28	24	11	8
	non-metropolitan areas	31	25	22	16	6
total		25	25	24	18	8
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	34	23	20	14	9
	500,000-1,000,000	37	24	21	11	7
	less than 500,000	45	19	19	11	5
	non-metropolitan areas	58	20	13	5	4
total		49	21	16	9	5

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Elementary School		High School		College
		0-6 Years	7 or 8 Years	9-11 Years	12 Years	13 Years or More
United States: total		13	24	20	26	18
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	10	22	21	27	20
	500,000-1,000,000	10	21	29	28	20
	less than 500,000	11	24	20	27	17
	non-metropolitan areas	11	30	18	27	15
total		11	25	20	27	18
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	12	17	20	26	25
	500,000-1,000,000	11	19	22	27	20
	less than 500,000	13	18	20	27	22
	non-metropolitan areas	24	26	19	20	13
total		18	22	19	23	17

ID-1 EMPLOYED PERSONS BY OCCUPATION GROUP (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Prof. & Tech.	Man., Off. & Propr.	Cler- ical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Opera- tives	Service priv. Hshld.	other	Laborer	Farm.
United States: total		4	1	6	2	7	20	17	18	14	11
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	6	2	12	2	7	27	12	19	11	1
	500,000-1,000,000	3	1	14	2	11	24	9	21	16	1
	less than 500,000	4	1	5	3	9	26	15	24	13	2
	non-metropolitan areas	4	0	4	1	15	19	18	16	14	9
total		5	1	11	2	8	26	13	20	12	1
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	5	1	9	2	5	18	19	26	13	1
	500,000-1,000,000	5	1	4	1	8	18	19	24	18	2
	less than 500,000	4	1	3	1	6	17	23	22	15	7
	non-metropolitan areas	3	1	1	1	5	14	19	12	14	30
total		4	1	3	1	6	16	20	17	15	18

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Prof. & Tech.	Man., Off. & Propr.	Cler- ical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Opera- tives	Service priv. Hshld.	other	Laborer	Farm.
United States: total		11	8	18	9	15	19	2	9	4	6
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	13	8	23	10	15	18	1	9	4	1
	500,000-1,000,000	12	8	21	9	16	18	2	9	4	2
	less than 500,000	11	7	17	9	14	22	2	10	5	3
	non-metropolitan areas	9	7	14	7	13	19	2	10	5	13
total		11	7	19	9	14	19	2	10	4	5
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	15	9	26	9	15	14	1	7	2	1
	500,000-1,000,000	12	9	22	10	19	14	1	8	3	1
	less than 500,000	12	10	19	11	18	16	1	8	4	2
	non-metropolitan areas	8	8	12	8	15	22	1	8	4	13
total		10	9	17	9	16	19	1	8	4	7

ID-2 EMPLOYED PERSONS BY INDUSTRY GROUP (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Finance, Ins. & Real Est.	Public Admin.	Retail	Whole-sale	Trans., Comm., & Pub.Util.	Service Prof. & Rel. Other		Manu-fact-uring	Con-struct-ion	Agric. & Min-ing
United States: total		2	6	11	2	5	11	27	19	6	12
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	3	6	12	2	6	12	23	28	4	1
	500,000-1,000,000	1	11	13	2	7	10	19	28	7	1
	less than 500,000	2	7	11	1	2	10	32	29	5	1
	non-metropolitan areas	1	12	12	3	3	9	26	18	6	2
total		2	8	12	2	6	12	24	28	5	9
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	3	12	14	3	6	16	26	11	7	1
	500,000-1,000,000	3	6	14	2	7	13	29	16	6	4
	less than 500,000	1	4	12	2	4	12	35	15	7	9
	non-metropolitan areas	0	2	7	1	4	8	26	13	6	33
total		1	4	10	2	5	10	28	14	6	20

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Finance, Ins. & Real Est.	Public Admin.	Retail	Whole-sale	Trans., Comm., & Pub.Util.	Service Prof. & Rel. Other		Manu-fact-uring	Con-struct-ion	Agric. & Min-ing
United States: total		5	7	17	3	7	12	8	28	6	7
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	6	5	17	4	8	12	9	33	5	1
	500,000-1,000,000	5	8	17	4	7	12	8	30	5	3
	less than 500,000	4	6	18	3	7	13	8	32	6	4
	non-metropolitan areas	3	6	16	3	6	12	8	24	6	16
total		5	6	17	4	7	12	9	30	5	6
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	6	15	17	4	9	13	7	21	6	2
	500,000-1,000,000	6	12	19	5	9	12	9	20	6	2
	less than 500,000	6	11	20	4	7	11	8	22	6	4
	non-metropolitan areas	3	7	18	2	6	9	7	24	7	17
total		4	10	18	3	7	11	8	22	7	10

ID-3 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE POPULATION 14 YEARS OLD AND OVER  
AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE (PERCENT  
DISTRIBUTIONS)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Percent Distribution of the Population 14 Years Old & Over by Employment Status									Percent of Civilian Labor Force Unemployed		
		Civilian Labor Force (CLF)			Armed Forces		Not in Labor Force						
		total	male	female	total	male	total	male	female	total	male	female	
United States: total		55	70	41	1	2	44	28	59	10	10	10	
North and West	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	59	75	43	1	1	41	24	56	12	12	13
	Size of SMSA	500,000- 1,000,000	59	77	41	1	2	40	21	59	8	11	3*
	Size of SMSA	less than 500,000	57	71	45	2	4	40	25	55	12	13	10
	non-metropolitan areas		41	43	39	6	11	53	45	61	13	14*	11*
	total		57	73	43	1	2	42	25	57	12	12	12
South	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	62	75	50	1	1	38	24	50	6	5	7
	Size of SMSA	500,000- 1,000,000	56	71	44	1	2	42	27	56	8	9	8
	Size of SMSA	less than 500,000	57	72	46	1	2	42	26	54	8	9	7
	non-metropolitan areas		49	65	34	1	1	51	34	65	8	8	8
	total		53	68	40	1	2	46	30	60	8	8	8

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Percent Distribution of the Population 14 Years Old & Over by Employment Status									Percent of Civilian Labor Force Unemployed		
		Civilian Labor Force (CLF)			Armed Forces		Not in Labor Force						
		total	male	female	total	male	total	male	female	total	male	female	
United States: total		54	75	34	1	3	45	22	66	5	5	5	
North and West	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	56	79	36	1	2	43	20	64	5	4	5
	Size of SMSA	500,000- 1,000,000	56	76	37	1	3	43	21	63	5	4	5
	Size of SMSA	less than 500,000	55	77	35	1	2	44	21	65	5	5	5
	non-metropolitan areas		52	74	31	1	2	47	24	69	5	5	6
	total		55	77	34	1	2	44	21	66	5	5	5
South	Size of SMSA	1,000,000 or more	57	78	37	2	4	41	18	63	4	5	3
	Size of SMSA	500,000- 1,000,000	51	71	33	4	7	46	22	67	4	4	4
	Size of SMSA	less than 500,000	53	72	35	4	7	43	21	65	4	4	5
	non-metropolitan areas		49	69	29	2	4	50	28	71	5	5	6
	total		51	71	32	2	5	47	24	68	5	4	5

ID-4 HOURS WORKED LAST WEEK AND WEEKS WORKED LAST YEAR, FOR THOSE EMPLOYED AT TIME OF CENSUS (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Hours Worked Last Week If At Work			Weeks Worked in 1959		
		1-29	30-39	40 or more	1-39	40-49	50-52
United States: total		20	12	69	27	20	53
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	13	12	75	24	19	57
	500,000-1,000,000	17	12	71	33	14	53
	less than 500,000	19	12	69	28	23	50
	non-metropolitan areas	24	12	64	25	19	56
total		14	12	74	25	19	56
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	15	11	74	20	18	62
	500,000-1,000,000	23	11	67	28	20	53
	less than 500,000	23	10	65	27	21	52
	non-metropolitan areas	27	13	60	33	20	45
total		24	12	65	29	20	50

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Hours Worked Last Week If At Work			Weeks Worked in 1959		
		1-29	30-39	40 or more	1-39	40-49	50-52
United States: total		12	11	77	18	15	67
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	11	14	75	16	15	68
	500,000-1,000,000	12	11	77	19	15	66
	less than 500,000	12	10	78	18	15	67
	non-metropolitan areas	15	9	76	20	13	67
total		12	12	76	18	15	67
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	9	8	82	16	12	71
	500,000-1,000,000	10	8	82	20	16	64
	less than 500,000	10	9	81	18	12	70
	non-metropolitan areas	13	10	77	21	17	62
total		11	9	79	19	15	66

1E-1 INCOME OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS IN 1959 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		less than \$2,000	\$2,000-\$2,999	\$3,000-\$3,999	\$4,000-\$4,999	\$5,000-\$6,999	\$7,000-\$9,999	\$10,000 or more
United States: total		36	16	12	11	14	8	3
North and West	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	20	12	13	15	21	12	7
	500,000-1,000,000	20	11	9	17	23	16	4
	less than 500,000	21	9	15	17	23	20	2
	non-metropolitan areas	42	17	9	10	15	13	1
total		21	12	13	15	19	12	6
South	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	22	12	16	13	18	13	5
	500,000-1,000,000	30	19	16	14	12	5	3
	less than 500,000	38	23	14	10	9	4	1
	non-metropolitan areas	56	19	9	7	6	2	-
total		45	19	12	9	9	4	1

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		less than \$2,000	\$2,000-\$2,999	\$3,000-\$3,999	\$4,000-\$4,999	\$5,000-\$6,999	\$7,000-\$9,999	\$10,000 or more
United States: total		13	7	9	10	24	21	16
North and West	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	8	5	6	8	23	26	24
	500,000-1,000,000	10	5	7	9	26	25	18
	less than 500,000	11	5	8	12	27	22	15
	non-metropolitan areas	16	8	11	12	25	17	11
total		11	6	8	10	25	22	18
South	Size of SMSA							
	1,000,000 or more	9	5	6	9	22	26	23
	500,000-1,000,000	13	8	10	10	24	20	15
	less than 500,000	13	7	10	11	24	20	15
	non-metropolitan areas	24	13	13	11	19	13	7
total		18	10	11	11	21	17	12

IF-1 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS, BY INCOME  
IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Income in 1959 of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		44	38	44	57
North and West	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	33	22	32	48
	500,000-1,000,000	42	45	29	57
	less than 500,000	54	39	51	76
	non-metropolitan areas	66	59	66	83*
	total	38	28	35	53
South	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	39	29	34	60
	500,000-1,000,000	41	32	46	59
	less than 500,000	43	32	56	81
	non-metropolitan areas	56	51	67	67
	total	48	43	54	65

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Income in 1959 of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		70	60	63	78
North and West	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	65	42	51	74
	500,000-1,000,000	70	52	57	80
	less than 500,000	72	58	64	81
	non-metropolitan areas	75	71	72	81
	total	70	58	62	77
South	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	71	47	58	81
	500,000-1,000,000	72	56	66	82
	less than 500,000	70	55	62	80
	non-metropolitan areas	72	67	68	81
	total	71	63	65	81

IF-2 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN OVERCROWDED DWELLING UNITS, BY  
TENURE AND INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Tenure		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			Owners	Renters	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		48	39	54	49	50	40
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	38	27	44	37	41	35
	500,000-1,000,000	47	35	55	36	46	34
	less than 500,000	48	41	55	47	54	34
	non-metropolitan areas	38	41	33	44	33	23
total		40	31	45	38	44	35
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	40	28	48	34	45	39
	500,000-1,000,000	59	50	65	52	67	55
	less than 500,000	54	45	60	54	56	42
	non-metropolitan areas	56	45	69	55	56	70
total		54	44	62	53	56	51

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Tenure		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			Owners	Renters	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		17	14	24	17	21	14
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	14	11	19	12	17	13
	500,000-1,000,000	15	13	21	14	19	13
	less than 500,000	16	14	22	17	20	13
	non-metropolitan areas	18	15	26	15	21	17
total		16	13	22	14	19	14
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	14	10	25	17	22	11
	500,000-1,000,000	17	13	26	10	22	15
	less than 500,000	18	13	31	22	23	13
	non-metropolitan areas	24	20	34	24	26	21
total		20	16	31	22	25	16



1F-3 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLING UNITS, BY  
TENURE AND INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Tenure		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			Owners	Renters	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		43	40	45	59	34	19
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	19	8	24	25	21	9
	500,000-1,000,000	20	12	26	27	26	7
	less than 500,000	24	20	29	31	24	17
	non-metropolitan areas	49	50	48	69	30	37
total		21	14	25	29	22	10
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	21	13	26	27	20	14
	500,000-1,000,000	40	32	46	48	36	20
	less than 500,000	55	46	62	62	48	34
	non-metropolitan areas	79	72	87	84	66	70
total		60	55	64	70	47	35

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		All Persons	Tenure		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
			Owners	Renters	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		11	9	16	30	13	4
North and West	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	4	2	9	12	6	2
	500,000-1,000,000	6	3	11	14	9	2
	less than 500,000	8	5	17	22	10	4
	non-metropolitan areas	17	15	22	34	18	7
total		9	7	14	23	12	4
South	Size of SMSA						
	1,000,000 or more	5	3	9	14	6	2
	500,000-1,000,000	6	3	12	12	8	2
	less than 500,000	9	6	14	25	10	2
	non-metropolitan areas	30	26	38	51	27	11
total		18	16	25	40	18	5

IF-4 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN DWELLING UNITS WHERE GROSS MONTHLY RENT IS 25 PERCENT OR MORE OF INCOME, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Rent Income Ratio		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
		25% to 34%	35% or more	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		19	11	51	23	1
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	19	14	64	31	1
	500,000-1,000,000	17	12	75*	29	0*
	less than 500,000	26	8	68*	37	0*
	non-metropolitan areas	28*	10*	64*	22*	0*
total		20	13	82	31	0
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	18	13	69	29	5
	500,000-1,000,000	26	5	61	8	8*
	less than 500,000	26	9	52	8	0*
	non-metropolitan areas	11	10	29	1	0*
total		19	9	42	13	4

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Rent Income Ratio		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
		25% to 34%	35% or more	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		15	6	66	24	4
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	15	6	78	30	5
	500,000-1,000,000	12	7	77	22	2
	less than 500,000	17	6	78	25	3
	non-metropolitan areas	13	7	66	18	3
total		14	6	74	25	4
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	18	9	75	34	10
	500,000-1,000,000	18	5	68	26	2
	less than 500,000	18	7	67	23	4
	non-metropolitan areas	15	5	47	12	3
total		17	6	55	20	5

IF-5 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS WHERE THE VALUE IS 3 OR MORE TIMES INCOME, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Value Income Ratio		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
		3.0 to 3.9	4.0 or more	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		10	6	38	11	1
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	12	4	68	20	1
	500,000-1,000,000	6	8	71*	5*	0
	less than 500,000	8	2	51*	9	0
	non-metropolitan areas	11	7	35*	12*	0*
	total	10	4	59	16	1
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	8	6	55*	16	0
	500,000-1,000,000	13	5	66	3	2*
	less than 500,000	10	7	33	10	0
	non-metropolitan areas	9	8	29	5	0
	total	10	7	34	7	0

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Value Income Ratio		Income of Families and Unrelated Individuals		
		3.0 to 3.9	4.0 or more	less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or more
United States: total		8	4	50	20	6
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	10	4	74	35	8
	500,000-1,000,000	8	5	79	26	4
	less than 500,000	8	4	56	17	6
	non-metropolitan areas	8	4	46	16	3
	total	9	4	56	23	6
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	6	2	54	14	5
	500,000-1,000,000	9	5	62	22	5
	less than 500,000	7	4	48	16	4
	non-metropolitan areas	8	5	40	10	3
	total	7	4	44	14	4

IG-1 PERCENT OF PERSONS LIVING IN HOUSEHOLDS WITHOUT EXCLUSIVE USE OF BATH, WITHOUT TELEPHONE, WITHOUT TELEVISION, AND WITHOUT AUTOMOBILE AVAILABLE

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Exclusive use of Bath	Telephone	Television	Automobile *
United States: total		44	50	20	52
North and West	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	12	31	8	55
	500,000-1,000,000	18	31	8	38
	less than 500,000	12	33	6	39
	non-metropolitan areas	39	38	11	
total		14	32	8	51
South	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	17	37	16	51
	500,000-1,000,000	41	40	21	55
	less than 500,000	55	55	18	53
	non-metropolitan areas	81	74	25	
total		62	61	24	53

\* Based upon 20 percent sample in metropolitan areas

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Exclusive use of Bath	Telephone	Television	Automobile
United States: total		11	17	5	20
North and West	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	3	11	2	26
	500,000-1,000,000	5	13	2	16
	less than 500,000	7	12	3	14
	non-metropolitan areas	17	17	5	
total		8	13	4	22
South	Size of SMSA				
	1,000,000 or more	4	12	2	13
	500,000-1,000,000	5	16	3	14
	less than 500,000	8	19	5	12
	non-metropolitan areas	31	39	11	
total		19	28	8	13

1G-2 MARITAL STATUS OF THE POPULATION, AGES 25-44, BY SEX (PERCENT OF TOTAL EVER MARRIED, AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THOSE EVER MARRIED BY PRESENT MARITAL STATUS)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		Percent distribution of those ever married											
		ever-married		never-married		married, with spouse		other married		widowed		divorced	
		total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female
United States: total		87	90	13	10	74	70	17	18	4	6	5	5
North and West	Size of SMSA												
	1,000,000 or more	88	90	12	10	73	70	18	20	3	4	5	6
	500,000-1,000,000	91	95	9	5	83	84	7	6	3	4	7	5
	less than 500,000	93	95	7	5	74	67	15	19	2	4	8	9
	non-metropolitan areas	73	78	27	22	57	62	24	21	5	9	13	9
	total	88	90	12	10	73	70	17	19	3	4	6	7
South	Size of SMSA												
	1,000,000 or more	87	89	13	11	77	74	14	17	4	4	6	5
	500,000-1,000,000	89	91	11	9	75	71	16	18	4	6	4	5
	less than 500,000	87	90	13	10	69	63	20	19	8	13	3	5
	non-metropolitan areas	86	89	14	11	77	73	15	16	5	7	3	3
	total	87	89	13	11	75	71	16	17	5	8	4	4

\* Base less than 100

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		Percent distribution of those ever married											
		ever-married		never-married		married, with spouse		other married		widowed		divorced	
		total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female	total female
United States: total		91	93	9	7	93	91	3	3	1	2	3	4
North and West	Size of SMSA												
	1,000,000 or more	88	91	12	9	92	91	3	3	1	1	3	4
	500,000-1,000,000	91	92	9	8	92	91	3	3	1	1	4	4
	less than 500,000	91	93	9	7	93	92	3	3	1	1	3	4
	non-metropolitan areas	91	94	9	6	94	93	3	2	1	2	3	3
	total	90	92	10	8	93	92	3	3	1	1	3	4
South	Size of SMSA												
	1,000,000 or more	92	93	8	7	93	91	4	3	1	2	3	3
	500,000-1,000,000	93	95	7	5	90	87	5	4	2	3	4	5
	less than 500,000	94	95	6	5	91	90	4	4	1	3	3	3
	non-metropolitan areas	93	95	7	5	92	90	4	5	1	2	2	3
	total	93	95	7	5	92	90	4	4	1	2	3	3

1G-3 PERSONS BY FAMILY STATUS AND HOUSEHOLD STATUS BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY FAMILY STATUS AND PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18 WHERE BOTH SPOUSES ARE NOT PRESENT)

A. NEGRO

Residence in 1960		In Families or Subfamilies			Primary Individuals	Percent of Households with children under 18 which are broken
		Married, with Spouse	Other Male Head	Female Head		
United States: total		61	3	19	17	21
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	59	3	19	20	22
	500,000- 1,000,000	71	6	12	11	14
	less than 500,000	63	4	17	16	25
	non-metropolitan areas	53	2	22	23	26
	total	60	3	18	19	21
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	62	3	19	16	19
	500,000- 1,000,000	64	1	19	16	19
	less than 500,000	57	3	23	17	27
	non-metropolitan areas	63	3	20	14	19
	total	61	3	20	15	21

B. WHITE

Residence in 1960		In Families or Subfamilies			Primary Individuals	Percent of Households with children under 18 which are broken
		Married, with Spouse	Other Male Head	Female Head		
United States: total		76	2	7	15	5
North and West	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	73	3	7	17	5
	500,000- 1,000,000	75	2	7	15	6
	less than 500,000	76	2	7	15	4
	non-metropolitan areas	77	2	7	14	5
	total	75	2	7	15	5
South	Size of SMSA					
	1,000,000 or more	76	1	8	15	4
	500,000- 1,000,000	74	2	8	15	6
	less than 500,000	79	2	7	12	6
	non-metropolitan areas	79	2	8	11	6
	total	78	2	8	12	6

IH-1 PERCENT OF SMSA RESIDENTS WORKING IN SMSA RING, BY OCCUPATION GROUP AND INDUSTRY GROUP

A. OCCUPATION GROUP

Residence in 1960		Prof. & Tech.	Man., Off. & Propr.	Cler- ical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Opera- tives	Service priv. Hshld.	other	Laborer	Farm
United States: total		34	31	27	31	43	35	35	33	39	89
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	40	33	30	36	46	38	43	37	44	88
	500,000-1,000,000	36	37	29	33	45	35	38	36	40	86
	less than 500,000	31	31	24	27	39	37	28	32	39	94
	non-metropolitan areas										
total		36	33	28	34	44	37	39	35	42	90
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	30	24	23	33	39	28	26	30	32	93
	500,000-1,000,000	31	27	17	18	36	20	31	25	26	63
	less than 500,000	30	27	22	22	40	35	29	26	30	90
	non-metropolitan areas										
total		30	26	21	24	39	29	29	27	29	86

B. INDUSTRY GROUP

Residence in 1960		Finance, Ins. & Real Est.	Public Admin.	Retail	Whole- sale	Trans., Comm., & Pub. Util.	Service Prof. & Rel.	Other	Manu- facturing	Con- struc- tion	Agric. & Min- ing
United States: total		20	42	34	22	25	35	31	38	40	64
North and West	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	22	42	38	24	25	41	36	40	46	79
	500,000-1,000,000	22	53	35	21	29	33	39	38	39	78
	less than 500,000	19	40	32	24	29	29	26	35	40	91
	non-metropolitan areas										
total		22	44	36	24	26	37	35	39	44	62
South	Size of SMSA										
	1,000,000 or more	23	30	38	15	18	34	21	29	36	64
	500,000-1,000,000	15	39	22	14	19	29	25	21	32	54
	less than 500,000	11	47	23	15	27	27	25	39	25	74
	non-metropolitan areas										
total		16	39	27	15	22	30	25	32	30	68

SERIES II:

DETAILED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION IN NORTHERN METROPOLITAN AREAS  
OF ONE MILLION OR MORE: 1960

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**IJB-1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF NEGRO PERSONS 17 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS BY AGE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED)**

**A. RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS**

		Elementary School		High School		College
		0-6 Years	7 or 8 Years	9-11 Years	12 Years	13 Years or More
residence in 1955	same state	22	24	26	21	7
	different state	13	13	27	27	19
place of birth	same state	9	18	32	30	10
	other state	9	17	30	28	16
	South	26	25	24	19	7

**B. LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE**

		Elementary School		High School		College
		0-6 Years	7 or 8 Years	9-11 Years	12 Years	13 Years or More
Same State	17-24	5	13	31	41	10
	25-44	4	14	37	33	12
	45 or older	25	32	23	12	8
South	17-24	4	11	36	40	9
	25-44	16	23	30	22	9
	45 or older	43	29	14	10	3

IIB-2 OCCUPATION GROUP OF EMPLOYED NEGRO PERSONS, BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS BY AGE  
(PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY OCCUPATION GROUP)

A. RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS

		Prof. & Tech.	Man., Off. & Propr.	Clerical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Operatives	Service		Laborer
								Priv. Hshld.	Other	
residence in 1955	same state	5	2	13	3	7	28	12	19	11
	different state	10	0	8	2	7	21	15	22	11
place of birth	same state	7	1	21	4	5	28	7	17	9
	other state	11	3	19	2	8	21	9	18	8
	South	4	1	9	2	8	28	14	21	13

B. LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE

		Prof. & Tech.	Man., Off. & Propr.	Clerical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Operatives	Service		Laborer
								Priv. Hshld.	Other	
Same state	17-24	6	0	29	3	3	26	6	18	8
	25-44	7	1	21	4	5	31	4	17	9
	45 or older	5	4	10	4	8	20	19	18	10
South	17-24	6	0	14	4	8	24	8	24	11
	25-44	5	2	10	1	7	31	12	19	12
	45 or older	3	1	4	2	9	24	20	22	15

**IIB-3 EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF THE NEGRO POPULATION 17 YEARS OLD AND OVER AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATE OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS BY AGE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS)**

**A. RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS**

		Percent Distribution of the Population 17 Years Old & Over by Employment Status			Percent of Civilian Labor Force Unemployed
		Civilian Labor Force	Armed Forces	Not in Labor Force	
residence in 1955	same state	61	0	39	12
	different state	65	4	31	15
place of birth	same state	59	0	41	14
	other state				
	not in South	66	2	32	12
	South	62	1	37	12

**B. LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE**

		Percent Distribution of the Population 17 Years Old & Over by Employment Status			Percent of Civilian Labor Force Unemployed
		Civilian Labor Force	Armed Forces	Not in Labor Force	
Same State	17-24	49	0	51	18
	25-44	68	1	32	13
	45 or older	55	0	45	10
South	17-24	60	2	38	23
	25-44	70	1	30	10
	45 or older	55	0	45	11

IIB-4 EARNINGS OF NEGRO PERSONS 17 YEARS OLD AND OVER IN 1959, BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS)

		less than \$2,000	\$2,000- \$2,999	\$3,000- \$3,999	\$4,000- \$4,999	\$5,000- \$5,999	\$6,000 or more
residence in 1955	same state	34	16	19	16	9	5
	different state	51	24	10	8	6	2
place of birth	same state	33	16	19	17	10	4
	other state						
	not in South	35	17	18	15	9	6
	South	36	16	18	15	9	5

IIB-5 INCOME OF NEGRO FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS IN 1959, BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS BY AGE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS OF PERSONS 17 YEARS OLD AND OVER)

A. RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS

		less than \$2,000	\$2,000- \$2,999	\$3,000- \$3,999	\$4,000- \$4,999	\$5,000- \$6,999	\$7,000- \$9,999	\$10,000 or more
residence in 1955	same state	21	11	12	14	21	14	8
	different state	31	15	11	14	17	8	5
place of birth	same state	20	11	13	13	21	13	10
	other state							
	not in South	22	10	13	15	11	20	10
	South	22	11	12	15	21	13	6

B. LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS AND AGE

		less than \$2,000	\$2,000- \$2,999	\$3,000- \$3,999	\$4,000- \$4,999	\$5,000- \$6,999	\$7,000- \$9,999	\$10,000 or more
Same State	17-24	20	8	13	10	23	13	13
	25-44	16	10	14	12	24	14	9
	45 or older	30	15	9	16	14	8	7
South	17-24	26	13	12	15	17	12	6
	25-44	15	12	14	17	23	13	6
	45 or older	28	10	10	13	20	13	6

11B-6 PERCENT OF NEGRO PERSONS LIVING IN THE CENTRAL CITY, IN OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS, IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS, IN OVERCROWDED UNITS, AND PAYING 25 PERCENT OR MORE OF THEIR INCOME IN RENT, BY RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRATION STATUS

		Percent of SMSA Population in Central City	Percent in Owner-occupied Units	Percent in Substandard Units	Percent in Overcrowded Units	Percent Paying 25 Percent or More of Income for Rent
residence in 1955	same state	84	36	19	33	31
	different state	72	26	19	41	39
place of birth	same state	83	31	18	46	34
	other state					
	not in South	79	39	10	26	29
	South	84	35	21	29	32

11B-7 NEGRO FAMILY STATUS AND HOUSEHOLD STATUS BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF CHILDREN UNDER 18 FOR RECENT AND LIFE TIME MIGRANTS (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BY FAMILY STATUS AND PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH CHILDREN UNDER 18 WHERE BOTH SPOUSES ARE NOT PRESENT)

		In Families or Subfamilies			Primary Individuals	Percent of Households with children under 18 which are broken
		Married, with Spouse	Other Male Head	Female Head		
residence in 1955	same state	59	3	19	20	21
	different state	56	4	21	19	22
place of birth	same state	60	3	20	18	24
	other state					
	not in South	58	3	15	24	20
	South	59	3	19	19	19

IID-1 UNEMPLOYMENT AND UNDER-EMPLOYMENT OF THE CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE,  
BY RACE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

			White	Negro
Civilian Labor Force			100.0	100.0
Unemployed			4.5	12.3
Employed	Worked less than 40 hours last week		23.8	21.3
	Worked less than 40 hours last week and/or worked less than 50 weeks last year		20.9	25.7
	Worked 40 or more hours last week and worked 50 or more weeks last year	Earned less than \$3,000 last year	4.5	10.8
		Earned \$3,000 or more last year	46.3	29.9

IID-4,5 PERCENT OF SMSA RESIDENTS LIVING IN CENTRAL CITY AND WORKING IN RING, BY INDUSTRY GROUP AND RACE AND BY OCCUPATION GROUP AND RACE

A. INDUSTRIAL GROUP

	Finance, Ins., & Real Est.	Public Admin.	Retail	Whole- sale	Trans., Comm., & Pub.Util.	Services Prof. & Rel. Other		Manufac- turing	Construc- tion
Total	3	13	7	9	6	7	9	14	16
Negro	0 *	3	4	9*	4	8	9	15	4*

B. OCCUPATION GROUP

	Prof. & Tech.	Man.,Off., & Propr.	Cler- ical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Opera- tives	Service Priv.Hshld. Other		Laborer
Total	12	9	6	7	18	10	10	6	13
Negro	8 *	4*	5	0*	10	9	14	7	12

\* Base less than 100

IID-2,3 PERCENT OF SMSA RESIDENTS EMPLOYED IN CENTRAL CITY, BY INDUSTRY GROUP AND RACE AND BY OCCUPATION GROUP AND RACE

A. INDUSTRIAL GROUP

	Finance, Ins., & Real Est.	Public Admin.	Retail	Whole- sale	Trans., Comm., & Pub.Util.	Services Prof. & Rel. Other		Manufac- turing	Construc- tion
Total	78	58	62	76	75	59	63	60	54
Negro	92 *	82	90	84*	88	80	74	76	83*

B. OCCUPATION GROUP

	Prof. & Tech.	Man.,Off., & Propr.	Cler- ical	Sales	Crafts. & Fore.	Opera- tives	Service Priv.Hshld. Other		Laborer
Total	60	67	70	64	54	62	57	63	56
Negro	87 *	90 *	91	92 *	81	81	67	79	71

\* Base less than 100

IID-6 PLACE OF RESIDENCE AND PLACE OF WORK OF EMPLOYED METROPOLITAN POPULATION, BY RACE

Race of Worker	Percent of SMSA Population that:		Percent of SMSA Population Living in Central City that:		Percent of SMSA Population Living in Ring that:	
	Lives in Central City	Works in Ring	Works in Central City	Works in Ring	Works in Central City	Works in Ring
White	52	37	90	10	33	67
Negro	84	20	91	9	20	80

IID-7 PERCENT OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN HOUSEHOLDS WITH AUTOMOBILE AVAILABLE, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES OR UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, BY RACE

	All Employed	Income in 1959 of Families or Unrelated Individuals		
		Less than \$3,000	\$3,000-\$5,999	\$6,000 or More
Total	69	32	58	81
Negro	50	28	48	66

IID-8 TYPE OF TRANSPORTATION TO WORK, BY SEX AND RACE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

		All Employed	Transportation to Work			
			Automobile	Rail, Subway, or Bus	Walk or at Home	Other
total	Total	100	45	41	1	12
	Negro	100	34	56	1	9
male	Total	100	55	33	2	10
	Negro	100	45	46	1	9
female	Total	100	28	55	1	16
	Negro	100	18	72	1	9



11F-1 TYPE OF RESIDENTIAL STRUCTURES IN SMSA (NUMBER IN SMSA AND PERCENT IN CENTRAL CITY)

	Trailer	1-unit detached	1-unit attached	2 units	3 or 4 units	5-9 units	10-19 units	20-59 units	50 units or more	Total
Number of Structures in SMSA's (000's)	161	7323	1315	1824	1959	802	572	861	1807	14,624
Percent of SMSA Structures in Central Cities	24	31	58	67	62	79	82	90	81	53

11F-2 NUMBER OF TYPES OF HOUSING INADEQUACIES, BY TENURE AND RACE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS)

		All Households		Households in Owner-occupied units		Households in Rental Units	
		White	Negro	White	Negro	White	Negro
All Households		100	100	100	100	100	100
no inadequacies		71	45	75	65	62	36
one inadequacy	excessive cost *	17	18	16	15	18	21
	overcrowded **	7	12	6	11	8	12
	substandard ***	3	9	1	5	6	11
two inadequacies	excessive cost and overcrowded	1	5	0	3	2	6
	excessive cost and substandard	1	4	0	1	2	5
	overcrowded and substandard	1	4	0	0	1	6
three inadequacies	excessive cost and overcrowded and substandard	0	2	0	0	1	3

\* Rent-income ratio 25 percent or more or Value-income ratio 3 or more

\*\* More than 1 person per room

\*\*\* Dilapidated and/or lacking one or more plumbing facilities

11F-3 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS, BY RACE AND LOCATION

		All Households	White Households	Negro Households
Central City	All Households	39	42	26
	Income	Less than \$3,000	25	17
		\$3,000-\$5,900	32	24
		\$6,000 or more	52	44
Ring	All Households	74	75	52
	Income	Less than \$3,000	59	42
		\$3,000-\$5,900	62	51
		\$6,000 or more	82	64

11F-4 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD AND OVERCROWDED UNITS, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, BY RACE LOCATION, AND TENURE

		Percent Substandard				Percent Overcrowded			
		SMSA		Central City		SMSA		Central City	
		All Units	Rental Units	All Units	Rental Units	All Units	Rental Units	All Units	Rental Units
White Households	All Households	6	11	7	12	8	10	7	10
	Income	Less than \$3,000	15	21	17	22	5	7	5
		\$3,000-\$5,900	7	10	8	11	9	12	9
		\$6,000 or more	2	4	3	4	8	10	8
Negro Households	All Households	22	27	21	25	22	25	21	24
	Income	Less than \$3,000	30	33	29	31	20	22	19
		\$3,000-\$5,900	21	26	20	25	24	27	24
		\$6,000 or more	9	16	7	13	21	29	20

IIF-5 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD AND OVERCROWDED UNITS BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, TENURE, AND LOCATION

			Percent of Dwelling Units Substandard			Percent of Dwelling Units Overcrowded		
			All Units	Owners	Renters	All Units	Owners	Renters
Central City	All Households		9	2	14	10	5	13
	Income	Less than \$3,000	19	6	25	9	2	11
		\$3,000-\$5,900	11	2	14	12	6	15
		\$6,000 or more	3	1	5	9	6	12
Ring	All Households		4	2	11	8	7	11
	Income	Less than \$3,000	14	9	22	6	4	8
		\$3,000-\$5,900	6	4	10	10	8	14
		\$6,000 or more	2	1	5	8	7	11

IIF-6 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD AND OVERCROWDED UNITS BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, TENURE, AND RACE

			Percent of Dwelling Units Substandard			Percent of Dwelling Units Overcrowded		
			All Units	Owners	Renters	All Units	Owners	Renters
White Households	All Households		6	2	11	8	6	10
	Income	Less than \$3,000	15	6	21	5	2	7
		\$3,000-\$5,900	7	3	10	9	6	12
		\$6,000 or more	2	1	4	8	7	10
Negro Households	All Households		22	9	27	22	14	25
	Income	Less than \$3,000	30	20	33	20	10	22
		\$3,000-\$5,900	21	9	26	24	19	27
		\$6,000 or more	9	1	16	21	12	29

IIF-7 NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, TENURE, AND LOCATION (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF ROOMS)

		All Units				Owners				Renters			
		1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more
Central City	All Households	13	40	38	10	1	17	60	22	20	54	23	3
	Income												
	Less than \$3,000	27	43	25	5	3	24	57	16	35	49	14	1
	\$3,000-\$5,900	13	46	34	7	1	22	58	19	19	57	22	2
Ring	\$6,000 or more	4	34	48	15	0	13	62	24	8	56	32	4
	All Households	4	26	52	19	1	15	60	24	12	55	29	4
	Income												
	Less than \$3,000	11	40	39	9	3	28	54	15	23	59	17	1
	\$3,000-\$5,900	5	37	48	10	1	23	62	15	12	58	26	4
	\$6,000 or more	1	18	57	24	0	11	61	28	6	50	39	6

IIF-8 NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, BY INCOME IN 1959 OF FAMILIES AND UNRELATED INDIVIDUALS, TENURE, AND RACE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF ROOMS)

		All Units				Owners				Renters			
		1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more	1-2	3-4	5-6	7 or more
White Households	All Households	8	32	46	15	1	16	61	23	17	55	25	3
	Income												
	Less than \$3,000	21	42	30	7	3	26	56	15	33	52	13	1
	\$3,000-\$5,900	10	42	40	9	1	23	61	16	17	59	22	2
Negro Households	\$6,000 or more	2	24	53	20	0	11	62	27	7	54	34	4
	All Households	16	40	35	10	1	18	55	25	22	49	26	3
	Income												
	Less than \$3,000	26	42	27	5	4	23	55	18	31	47	21	2
	\$3,000-\$5,900	13	42	36	9	1	17	58	24	18	51	28	3
	\$6,000 or more	14	33	45	19	0	16	53	31	7	48	37	8

IIF-9 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS, BY NUMBER OF ROOMS, LOCATION, AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	14	42	8	6	10	35	8	6
	Less than \$60	33	61	18	10	39	55	31	29 *
	\$60-\$79	12	31	7	7	10	20 *	7	16
	\$80 or more	4	15	3	4	2	11 *	2	1

\* Base less than 100

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
Value	All Owner-occupied Units	1	5	1	1	2	7	1	1
	Less than \$7,500	7	19 *	4	4 *	21	31	13	19 *
	\$7,500-\$9,900	3	6 *	2	3 *	4	6	3	3 *
	\$10,000 or more	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0

\* Base less than 100

IIF-10 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD UNITS, BY NUMBER OF ROOMS, RACE, AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	11	35	6	4	27	62	19	15
	Less than \$60	32	59	19	11	42	66	28	24 *
	\$60-\$79	9	21	5	8	26	43 *	19	13 *
	\$80 or more	2	10	2	1	15	44 *	11	14

\* Base less than 100

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
Value	All Owner-occupied Units	1	6	1	1	8	12 *	8	6 *
	Less than \$7,500	13	27	6	8 *	24 *	31 *	24 *	21 *
	\$7,500-\$9,900	3	5	2	3 *	6 *	8 *	5 *	6 *
	\$10,000 or more	0	1	0	0	1	3 *	1	0 *

\* Base less than 100

IIF-11 YEAR OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BUILT, BY LOCATION AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY YEAR BUILT)

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960	1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	71	12	7	11	50	11	14	26
	Less than \$60	84	6	4	5	71	11	9	9
	\$60-\$79	77	12	5	5	59	14	14	13
	\$80 or more	58	15	9	18	39	10	15	36

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960	1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960
Value	All Owner-occupied units	49	13	15	22	24	10	18	48
	Less than \$7,500	87	7	4	2	66	10	12	12
	\$7,500-\$9,900	79	11	5	4	47	18	18	17
	\$10,000 or more	39	15	18	28	19	9	18	53

IIF-12 YEAR OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BUILT, BY RACE AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY YEAR BUILT)

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960	1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	63	12	9	16	75	9	6	10
	Less than \$60	84	7	5	4	74	7	7	12
	\$60-\$79	73	13	8	6	76	9	5	10
	\$80 or more	50	14	11	25	75	12	5	8

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960	1929 or earlier	1930-1939	1940-1949	1950-1960
Value	All Owner-occupied units	31	11	17	41	61	17	11	11
	Less than \$7,500	75	8	9	8	82*	10*	4*	3*
	\$7,500-\$9,900	61	15	13	12	76*	12*	9*	3*
	\$10,000 or more	25	11	18	46	47	21	14	18

\* Base less than 100

IIF-14 NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BUILT BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960, BY RACE AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF ROOMS)

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	11	35	6	4	27	62	19	15
	Less than \$60	32	59	19	11	42	66	28	24*
	\$60-\$79	9	21	5	8	26	63*	19	13*
	\$80 or more	2	10	2	1	15	44*	11	14

\* Base less than 100

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
Value	All Owner-occupied Units	1	6	1	1	8	12*	8	6*
	Less than \$7,500	13	27	6	8*	24*	31*	24*	21*
	\$7,500-\$9,900	3	5	2	3*	6*	8*	5*	6*
	\$10,000 or more	0	1	0	0	1	3*	1	0*

\* Base less than 100

IIF-13 NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BUILT BETWEEN 1950 AND 1960, BY LOCATION AND GROSS MONTHLY RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY NUMBER OF ROOMS)

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
Gross Rent	All Renter-occupied units	14	42	8	6	10	35	8	6
	Less than \$60	33	61	18	10	39	65	31	29*
	\$60-\$79	12	31	7	7	10	20*	7	16
	\$80 or more	4	15	3	4	2	11*	2	1

\* Base less than 100

B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
Value	All Owner-occupied Units	1	5	1	1	2	7	1	1
	Less than \$7,500	7	19*	4	4*	21	31	13	19*
	\$7,500-\$9,900	3	6*	2	3*	4	6	3	3*
	\$10,000 or more	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0

\* Base less than 100

11F-16	NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, BY RACE AND GROSS RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)
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### A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
All Renter-occupied units		100	17	55	28	100	22	49	30
Gross Rent	Less than \$60	100	36	51	13	100	37	46	17
	\$60-\$79	100	18	61	21	100	20	54	26
	\$80 or more	100	9	64	37	100	9	46	45

## B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		White Households				Negro Households			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
All Owner-occupied Units		100	13	62	25	100	17	56	27
Value	Less than \$7,500	100	31	52	17	100 *	18	56	26
	\$7,500-\$9,900	100	23	63	14	100 *	19	55	25
	\$10,000 or more	100	11	63	27	100	16	57	27

\* Base less than 100

IIF-15 NUMBER OF ROOMS IN OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, BY LOCATION  
AND GROSS RENT OR VALUE (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION)

A. RENTER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-2	3-4	5 or more		1-2	3-4	5 or more
All Renter-occupied units		100	20	53	25	100	12	55	33
Gross Rent	Less than \$60	100	37	50	13	100	34	51	15
	\$60-\$79	100	19	59	22	100	12	65	23
	\$80 or more	100	11	53	36	100	5	53	42

## B. OWNER OCCUPIED UNITS

		Central City				Ring			
		All Units	Number of Rooms			All Units	Number of Rooms		
			1-4	5-6	7 or more		1-4	5-6	7 or more
All Owner-occupied Units		100	14	61	25	100	14	62	25
Value	Less than \$7,500	100	20	60	20	100	38	46	16
	\$7,500-\$9,900	100	16	64	20	100	29	61	10
	\$10,000 or more	100	12	61	27	100	10	63	27



### 11G-1 RACE, HOUSEHOLD SIZE, AND INCOME (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS)

		Percent Distribution by Income					Percent Distribution by Household Size					
		All Households	Household Size				All Households	Households Size				
			1	2	3-5	6 or more		1	2	3-5	6 or more	
White Households	All Households	100	100	100	100	100	100	15	29	48	8	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	17	53	20	7	4	100	46	34	18	2
		\$3,000-\$5,900	27	31	31	25	22	100	17	32	44	7
		\$6,000 or more	55	15	49	68	74	100	4	25	59	11
Negro Households	All Households	100	100	100	100	100	100	17	25	42	16	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	37	64	41	29	23	100	29	27	33	10
		\$3,000-\$5,900	40	33	40	41	46	100	14	25	43	18
		\$6,000 or more	23	3	20	29	32	100	2	21	64	22

11G-2 RACE, HOUSEHOLD STATUS, AND INCOME (PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS)

A. BY INCOME

		All Households	In Families or Subfamilies			Primary Individuals	
			Married, with Spouse	Other Male Head	Female Head		
White Households	All Households	100	100	100	100	100	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	17	8	14	32	53
		\$3,000-\$5,900	27	26	27	37	32
		\$6,000 or more	55	66	59	32	15
Negro Households	All Households	100	100	100	100	100	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	37	20	33	61	65
		\$3,000-\$5,900	40	46	48	28	31
		\$6,000 or more	23	33	20	11	4

### B. BY FAMILY STATUS

		All Households	In Families or Subfamilies			Primary Individuals	
			Married, with Spouse	Other Male Head	Female Head		
White Households	All Households	100	74	3	7	17	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	100	34	2	13	51
		\$3,000-\$5,900	100	69	3	9	20
		\$6,000 or more	100	89	3	4	5
Negro Households	All Households	100	59	3	18	21	
	Income	Less than \$3,000	100	33	2	29	36
		\$3,000-\$5,900	100	68	3	12	16
		\$6,000 or more	100	86	2	8	3

SERIES III:

DETAILED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POPULATION IN THE TWELVE LARGEST  
METROPOLITAN AREAS

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NOTES ON TABLES: SERIES III

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Comparability of Data

1. Race and Color: Some tabulations are by color (white, nonwhite); others are by race (white, Negro). Whites include those with Spanish surname, a group that generally has a lower socio-economic status than other whites. Nonwhites includes Negroes and, among others, Orientals. The latter group are of higher socio-economic status than Negroes. Therefore, in areas with a substantial number of whites with Spanish surname and/or nonwhites other than Negro, disparities between whites and nonwhites would be less than disparities between whites without Spanish surname and Negroes. The racial composition of the central city populations are defined in Table IIIA-5.
2. Color and Housing: Low income nonwhites are much more likely than low income whites to be living in public housing. Public housing provides standard housing at low cost. Tabulations comparing the housing of whites and nonwhites include households in public housing. As a consequence, disparities between low income whites and low income nonwhites in private housing would be even larger than these tables indicate. [8, p.45]
3. Between 1950 and 1960, boundary changes occurred in 4 of the twelve largest metropolitan areas.
  - Chicago SMSA added McHenry County, increasing the SMSA population by 84,210 to 6,742,969.\*
  - Boston SMSA added the towns of Norfolk, Topsfield, Sud-

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\* All population figures are for 1960 unless they are otherwise noted.

bury, Holbrook, Duxbury, Hanover, and Marshfield.

- St. Louis SMSA added Jefferson County, increasing the SMSA population by 66,377 to 2,060,103.
- Baltimore added Carroll and Howard Counties, increasing the SMSA population by 88,937 to 1,727,023.

4. Between 1950 and 1960 boundary changes occurred in the central cities of 4 of the 12 largest metropolitan areas. [201, Table 9]

- In Los Angeles SMSA, the central city of Los Angeles annexed land with a population of 7,557 to increase the population to 2,479,015. Long Beach annexed land with a population of 49,159 to increase the city population to 344,168.
- In Chicago SMSA, the city of Chicago annexed land with a population of 6,976 to increase the population to 3,550,404.
- In Detroit SMSA, Pontiac city, with a 1950 population of 73,681, was included as a central city in 1950 but only Detroit was counted as the central city of the metropolitan area in 1960.
- In Pittsburgh SMSA, the city of Pittsburgh annexed land with a population of 91 to increase the population to 604,332.

IIIA-1 POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES, BY RACE: 1900-1960

	ALL RACES			WHITE			NEGRO		
	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY
New York									
1960	10 485	7 782	2 913	9 407	6 441	2 766	1 228	1 088	140
1950	9 556	7 692	1 664	8 706	7 116	1 589	820	748	73
1940	8 707	7 455	1 252	8 172	6 978	1 194	515	458	56
1930	7 975	6 430	1 045	7 594	6 589	1 005	367	328	39
1920	6 246	5 430	626	6 067	5 189	607	171	152	19
1910	5 277	4 767	510	5 163	4 669	494	107	92	16
1900	3 813	3 437	376	3 712	3 370	342	73	61	13
Los Angeles-Long Beach									
1960	6 743	2 823	3 920	6 148	2 391	3 757	465	344	120
1950	4 368	2 221	2 147	4 092	2 003	2 089	219	175	43
1940	2 916	1 469	1 268	2 768	1 569	1 219	75	64	11
1930	2 327	1 380	947	2 235	1 312	922	47	39	7
1920	998	632	366	953	607	351	19	16	3
1910	539	337	202	517	323	194	10	8	2
1900	190	109	89	183	100	83	3	2	1
Chicago									
1960	6 221	3 550	2 671	5 301	2 713	2 588	890	813	78
1950	5 178	3 621	1 557	4 623	3 112	1 512	536	492	44
1940	4 370	3 297	1 173	4 262	3 115	1 148	303	278	25
1930	4 450	3 376	1 073	4 189	3 137	1 052	255	234	21
1920	3 395	2 702	693	3 273	2 569	684	119	109	9
1910	2 702	2 183	519	2 651	2 139	512	49	44	5
1900	2 085	1 699	386	2 049	1 647	382	34	30	4
Philadelphia									
1960	4 343	2 003	2 340	3 462	1 467	2 194	671	529	141
1950	3 471	1 599	1 872	3 187	1 493	1 494	480	374	106
1940	3 200	1 631	1 569	2 863	1 679	1 184	335	251	84
1930	3 137	1 951	1 186	2 835	1 729	1 106	299	220	79
1920	2 714	1 824	890	2 521	1 686	833	191	134	57
1910	2 268	1 549	719	2 136	1 463	671	120	86	34
1900	1 892	1 294	598	1 867	1 230	637	102	63	40
Detroit									
1960	3 762	1 670	2 092	3 195	1 183	2 012	559	522	77
1950	3 016	1 450	1 567	2 654	1 064	1 590	366	301	57
1940	2 377	1 623	754	2 205	1 473	732	171	149	22
1930	2 177	1 569	609	2 037	1 447	590	136	120	17
1920	1 426	998	428	1 269	953	317	68	61	7
1910	1 116	686	430	998	640	358	6	6	1
1900	427	284	141	422	282	140	5	4	1
San Francisco-Oakland									
1960	2 783	1 108	1 675	2 437	875	1 562	239	156	81
1950	2 241	1 160	1 081	2 030	1 023	1 008	147	91	56
1940	1 462	937	525	1 397	891	506	20	13	6
1930	1 348	818	530	1 269	876	393	15	11	4
1920	1 009	723	287	970	694	276	10	8	2
1910	776	567	207	740	542	198	6	5	1
1900	543	410	133	517	390	127	3	3	1
Boston									
1960	2 969	697	1 892	2 502	629	1 874	78	63	15
1950	2 411	801	1 609	2 394	759	1 594	52	43	12
1940	2 210	771	1 439	2 174	747	1 427	36	24	12
1930	2 169	781	1 387	2 135	761	1 374	33	21	13
1920	1 869	748	1 121	1 840	732	1 109	29	16	12
1910	1 602	671	931	1 578	657	921	24	16	11
1900	1 321	561	760	1 300	549	750	21	12	9
Pittsburgh									
1960	2 405	604	1 801	2 262	503	1 759	161	101	61
1950	2 113	577	1 536	2 013	477	1 536	134	84	50
1940	2 083	672	1 411	1 970	609	1 360	112	62	50
1930	2 033	670	1 363	1 916	614	1 302	107	55	52
1920	1 780	568	1 172	1 691	550	1 141	68	36	30
1910	1 472	434	1 038	1 437	472	965	134	66	19
1900	1 084	432	652	1 048	431	617	39	17	18
St. Louis									
1960	2 060	750	1 310	1 762	534	1 228	295	214	80
1950	1 719	657	1 062	1 502	702	800	214	134	62
1940	1 444	614	830	1 312	707	605	152	109	63
1930	1 367	622	745	1 259	748	511	128	94	34
1920	1 164	773	391	1 075	703	372	91	70	21
1910	1 032	687	345	966	642	324	63	44	19
1900	827	575	252	777	539	238	49	36	14
Washington, D.C.									
1960	2 002	764	1 238	1 902	395	1 507	487	412	75
1950	1 444	602	842	1 122	518	604	330	261	57
1940	968	663	305	737	474	263	229	187	42
1930	672	487	185	504	396	108	167	132	35
1920	472	434	38	430	357	73	161	110	32
1910	445	331	114	318	234	82	127	94	32
1900	379	279	100	297	192	105	121	87	36
Cleveland									
1960	1 797	674	921	1 536	623	913	257	251	4
1950	1 446	615	831	1 311	765	546	152	148	4
1940	1 267	678	589	1 179	793	386	88	85	3
1930	1 263	600	663	1 167	636	531	75	72	4
1920	972	797	175	936	762	174	36	34	1
1910	660	561	100	651	552	99	9	8	1
1900	461	382	79	454	376	79	6	6	...
Baltimore									
1960	1 727	639	788	1 366	611	755	379	326	53
1950	1 405	609	796	1 133	726	407	271	225	46
1940	1 160	589	571	960	693	267	199	166	33
1930	1 037	605	432	862	642	220	174	142	32
1920	902	734	168	766	625	141	136	108	28
1910	770	558	212	653	473	179	117	85	33
1900	690	509	181	677	429	247	113	74	36

Source: [205, Table 1]

# 111A-2 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES, BY RACE: 1900-1960

	ALL CLASSES			WHITE			NEGRO		
	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY
New York									
1960	100.0	72.8	27.2	100.0	70.6	29.4	100.0	88.6	11.4
1950	100.0	82.6	17.4	100.0	81.7	18.3	100.0	91.1	8.9
1940	100.0	85.6	14.4	100.0	85.4	14.6	100.0	89.0	11.0
1930	100.0	86.9	13.1	100.0	86.8	13.2	100.0	89.4	10.6
1920	100.0	90.0	10.0	100.0	90.0	10.0	100.0	89.2	10.8
1910	100.0	90.3	9.7	100.0	90.4	9.6	100.0	85.5	14.5
1900	100.0	90.1	9.9	100.0	90.8	9.2	100.0	82.7	17.3
Los Angeles-Long Beach									
1960	100.0	41.9	58.1	100.0	38.9	61.1	100.0	74.1	25.9
1950	100.0	50.9	49.1	100.0	49.0	51.0	100.0	80.2	19.8
1940	100.0	57.2	42.8	100.0	56.3	43.7	100.0	85.3	14.7
1930	100.0	59.3	40.7	100.0	58.7	41.3	100.0	84.1	15.9
1920	100.0	63.4	36.6	100.0	63.1	36.9	100.0	83.3	16.7
1910	100.0	62.6	37.4	100.0	62.4	37.6	100.0	80.9	19.1
1900	100.0	55.1	44.9	100.0	54.8	45.2	100.0	75.1	24.9
Chicago									
1960	100.0	57.1	42.9	100.0	51.2	48.8	100.0	91.3	8.7
1950	100.0	69.9	30.1	100.0	67.3	32.7	100.0	91.9	8.1
1940	100.0	74.3	25.7	100.0	73.1	26.9	100.0	91.8	8.2
1930	100.0	75.9	24.1	100.0	74.9	25.1	100.0	91.9	8.1
1920	100.0	79.6	20.4	100.0	79.1	20.9	100.0	92.2	7.8
1910	100.0	80.9	19.1	100.0	80.7	19.3	100.0	89.6	10.4
1900	100.0	81.5	18.5	100.0	81.4	18.6	100.0	88.5	11.5
Philadelphia									
1960	100.0	46.1	53.9	100.0	40.1	59.9	100.0	78.8	21.2
1950	100.0	56.4	43.6	100.0	53.1	46.9	100.0	78.3	21.7
1940	100.0	60.4	39.6	100.0	58.6	41.4	100.0	75.0	25.0
1930	100.0	62.2	37.8	100.0	61.0	39.0	100.0	73.5	26.5
1920	100.0	67.2	32.8	100.0	67.0	33.0	100.0	70.2	29.8
1910	100.0	68.3	31.7	100.0	68.6	31.4	100.0	64.9	35.1
1900	100.0	68.4	31.6	100.0	65.2	34.8	100.0	61.3	38.7
Detroit									
1960	100.0	44.4	55.6	100.0	37.0	63.0	100.0	86.3	13.7
1950	100.0	61.3	38.7	100.0	58.2	41.8	100.0	84.0	16.0
1940	100.0	68.3	31.7	100.0	65.8	34.2	100.0	87.3	12.7
1930	100.0	72.0	28.0	100.0	71.0	29.0	100.0	87.3	12.7
1920	100.0	76.1	23.9	100.0	75.0	25.0	100.0	90.5	9.5
1910	100.0	75.9	24.1	100.0	76.9	23.1	100.0	89.2	10.8
1900	100.0	66.9	33.1	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0	84.8	15.2
San Francisco-Oakland									
1960	100.0	39.8	60.2	100.0	35.9	64.1	100.0	66.2	33.8
1950	100.0	51.8	48.2	100.0	50.4	49.6	100.0	61.9	38.1
1940	100.0	64.1	35.9	100.0	63.8	36.2	100.0	67.4	32.6
1930	100.0	68.1	31.9	100.0	68.0	32.0	100.0	73.4	26.6
1920	100.0	71.6	28.4	100.0	71.5	28.5	100.0	82.0	18.0
1910	100.0	73.3	26.7	100.0	73.3	26.7	100.0	80.9	19.1
1900	100.0	75.5	24.5	100.0	75.5	24.5	100.0	75.7	20.3
Boston									
1960	100.0	26.9	73.1	100.0	25.1	74.9	100.0	81.2	18.8
1950	100.0	33.2	66.8	100.0	32.2	67.8	100.0	76.9	23.1
1940	100.0	34.9	65.1	100.0	34.4	65.6	100.0	66.5	33.5
1930	100.0	36.0	64.0	100.0	35.6	64.4	100.0	62.0	38.0
1920	100.0	40.0	60.0	100.0	39.8	60.2	100.0	57.3	42.7
1910	100.0	41.9	58.1	100.0	41.6	58.4	100.0	55.7	44.3
1900	100.0	42.5	57.5	100.0	42.3	57.7	100.0	55.7	44.3
Pittsburgh									
1960	100.0	25.1	74.9	100.0	22.4	77.6	100.0	62.3	37.7
1950	100.0	30.6	69.4	100.0	28.6	71.4	100.0	60.5	39.5
1940	100.0	32.3	67.7	100.0	30.9	69.1	100.0	55.3	44.7
1930	100.0	33.1	66.9	100.0	32.1	67.9	100.0	51.6	48.4
1920	100.0	33.4	66.6	100.0	32.5	67.5	100.0	55.6	44.4
1910	100.0	36.3	63.7	100.0	35.6	64.4	100.0	56.3	43.7
1900	100.0	41.7	58.3	100.0	41.1	58.9	100.0	48.6	51.4
St. Louis									
1960	100.0	36.4	63.6	100.0	30.3	69.7	100.0	72.7	27.3
1950	100.0	49.8	50.2	100.0	46.8	53.2	100.0	71.1	28.9
1940	100.0	55.7	44.3	100.0	53.9	46.1	100.0	71.6	28.4
1930	100.0	59.3	40.7	100.0	57.8	42.2	100.0	75.3	24.7
1920	100.0	64.3	35.7	100.0	65.4	34.6	100.0	76.7	23.3
1910	100.0	66.6	33.4	100.0	66.3	33.7	100.0	70.1	29.9
1900	100.0	69.6	30.4	100.0	69.4	30.6	100.0	72.3	27.7
Washington, D.C.									
1960	100.0	38.2	61.8	100.0	23.0	77.0	100.0	84.5	15.5
1950	100.0	54.8	45.2	100.0	46.2	53.8	100.0	83.1	16.9
1940	100.0	68.5	31.5	100.0	64.3	35.7	100.0	81.7	18.3
1930	100.0	72.4	27.6	100.0	70.2	29.8	100.0	78.9	21.1
1920	100.0	76.5	23.5	100.0	76.1	23.9	100.0	77.7	22.3
1910	100.0	74.3	25.7	100.0	74.3	25.7	100.0	76.4	23.6
1900	100.0	73.6	26.4	100.0	74.4	25.6	100.0	71.8	28.2
Cleveland									
1960	100.0	48.8	51.2	100.0	40.6	59.4	100.0	97.5	2.5
1950	100.0	57.4	42.6	100.0	54.4	45.6	100.0	97.2	2.8
1940	100.0	69.3	30.7	100.0	67.3	32.7	100.0	96.3	3.7
1930	100.0	72.4	27.6	100.0	70.9	29.1	100.0	95.3	4.7
1920	100.0	82.0	18.0	100.0	81.4	18.6	100.0	96.3	3.7
1910	100.0	88.9	11.1	100.0	88.8	11.2	100.0	93.9	6.1
1900	100.0	82.8	17.2	100.0	82.7	17.3	100.0	93.0	7.0
Baltimore									
1960	100.0	54.4	45.6	100.0	45.4	54.6	100.0	86.0	14.0
1950	100.0	67.6	32.4	100.0	63.9	36.1	100.0	83.0	17.0
1940	100.0	75.4	24.6	100.0	73.7	26.3	100.0	83.3	16.7
1930	100.0	77.6	22.4	100.0	76.8	23.2	100.0	81.8	18.2
1920	100.0	81.3	18.7	100.0	81.4	18.6	100.0	80.4	19.6
1910	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	72.5	27.5	100.0	72.3	27.7
1900	100.0	73.8	26.2	100.0	74.4	25.6	100.0	70.3	29.7

Source: [205, Table 1]

111A-3 PERCENT OF THE POPULATION WHITE AND NEGRO,  
BY LOCATION: 1900-1960

	ALL CLASSES			WHITE			NEGRO		
	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY	TOTAL	CENTRAL CITY	OUTSIDE CENTRAL CITY
New York									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.0	85.3	95.0	11.5	14.0	4.8
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	91.1	90.2	95.5	8.8	9.5	4.4
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.9	93.6	95.4	5.9	6.1	4.5
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.2	95.1	96.2	4.6	4.7	3.7
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.1	97.1	96.9	2.7	2.7	2.9
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.8	98.0	96.8	2.0	1.9	3.1
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.4	98.0	91.2	1.9	1.8	3.4
Los Angeles-Long Beach									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	91.2	84.7	95.0	8.9	12.2	3.1
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.7	90.2	97.3	5.0	7.9	2.0
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.6	94.0	97.7	2.6	3.9	0.9
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.0	95.0	97.3	2.0	2.8	0.8
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.5	95.2	96.1	1.9	2.5	0.9
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.0	95.8	96.4	1.8	2.3	0.9
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.5	95.7	97.6	1.5	2.1	0.9
Chicago									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.2	76.4	96.9	14.3	22.9	2.9
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.3	85.9	97.1	10.3	13.6	2.8
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.3	91.7	97.8	6.6	8.2	2.1
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.1	92.9	98.0	5.7	6.9	1.9
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.4	95.8	98.6	3.5	4.1	1.3
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.1	97.9	99.0	1.8	2.0	1.0
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.3	98.1	99.0	1.6	1.8	1.0
Philadelphia									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	84.3	73.3	93.7	15.5	26.4	6.1
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	86.8	81.7	93.4	13.1	18.2	6.5
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.5	85.4	93.4	10.5	13.0	6.6
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.4	88.6	93.3	9.5	11.3	6.7
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.9	92.6	93.6	7.0	7.4	6.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.1	94.5	93.3	5.7	5.5	6.3
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	99.7	95.1	108.8	5.4	4.8	6.6
Detroit									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	84.9	70.8	96.2	14.9	28.9	3.7
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	88.0	83.4	95.0	11.9	16.2	4.9
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.7	90.7	97.1	7.2	9.2	2.9
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.6	92.2	97.1	6.3	7.7	2.9
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.8	97.2	95.8	3.5	4.1	1.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.5	98.7	93.4	1.0	1.2	0.5
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.9	98.6	99.5	1.1	1.4	0.5
San Francisco-Oakland									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.5	79.0	93.2	8.6	14.3	4.8
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.6	88.2	93.2	8.6	7.9	5.2
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.0	95.1	96.4	1.4	1.2	1.0
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.3	95.1	95.9	1.1	1.2	1.0
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.1	96.0	96.5	1.0	1.1	0.6
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.6	95.6	95.7	0.8	0.8	0.5
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.2	95.2	95.1	0.6	0.7	0.5
Boston									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.6	90.2	99.0	3.0	9.1	0.8
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.7	94.7	99.2	2.2	5.0	0.7
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.4	96.9	99.2	1.6	3.1	0.8
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.5	97.4	99.1	1.5	2.6	0.9
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.5	97.8	98.9	1.5	2.2	1.1
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.5	98.0	98.8	1.5	2.0	1.2
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.4	97.9	98.8	1.6	2.1	1.2
Pittsburgh									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.2	83.2	96.6	6.7	16.7	3.4
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.8	87.8	96.5	6.2	12.2	3.5
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.6	90.7	96.4	5.4	9.3	3.6
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.7	91.7	96.2	5.3	8.2	3.8
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.1	93.5	97.4	3.9	6.4	2.6
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	97.0	95.1	98.0	3.0	4.8	2.0
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.7	95.5	97.6	3.2	3.8	2.9
St. Louis									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	95.5	71.2	93.8	14.3	28.6	6.1
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	87.4	82.0	92.7	12.6	17.9	7.2
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.6	86.6	93.3	10.4	13.3	6.6
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.7	88.5	93.9	9.2	11.4	6.0
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	92.1	90.9	94.6	7.8	9.0	5.4
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.9	93.5	94.6	6.1	6.4	5.5
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	94.0	93.8	94.6	5.9	6.2	5.4
Washington, D.C.									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.1	45.2	93.5	24.3	53.9	6.1
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	76.6	64.6	91.3	23.1	35.0	8.6
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	76.2	71.5	86.2	23.7	28.2	13.8
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.0	72.7	80.9	24.9	27.1	19.1
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	75.1	76.7	76.5	24.7	23.1	25.3
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	71.4	71.3	71.6	28.5	28.4	28.4
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	68.0	68.7	65.9	31.9	31.1	34.1
Cleveland									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	85.5	71.1	99.2	14.3	28.6	0.7
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	89.5	83.7	99.2	10.4	16.2	0.8
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.0	90.3	99.1	6.9	9.6	0.8
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	93.9	91.9	98.6	6.1	8.0	1.0
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	96.3	95.6	99.3	3.7	4.3	0.7
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.6	98.4	99.4	1.4	1.5	0.6
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	98.6	98.4	99.4	1.4	1.6	0.6
Baltimore									
1960	100.0	100.0	100.0	77.8	65.0	93.1	21.9	34.7	6.7
1950	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.6	76.2	89.8	19.3	23.7	10.1
1940	100.0	100.0	100.0	82.5	80.6	88.1	17.5	19.3	11.8
1930	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.2	82.3	86.8	16.8	17.7	13.7
1920	100.0	100.0	100.0	84.9	85.2	83.5	15.1	14.8	16.5
1910	100.0	100.0	100.0	84.7	84.8	84.6	15.2	15.2	15.3
1900	100.0	100.0	100.0	83.6	84.3	81.5	16.3	15.6	18.5

Source: [205, Table 1]

111A-4 ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGE RESULTING FROM NET MIGRATION AND  
ESTIMATED POPULATION CHANGE RESULTING FROM NATURAL INCREASE:  
1940-1950 AND 1950-1960

Area*	Population Change		Estimated Net Migration		% of Change from Net Migration		% of Change from Natural Increase	
	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1950	1950-1960	1940-1950	1950-1960
New York	349	549	279	303	80	55	20	45
Los Angeles	148	319	124	215	84	67	16	33
Chicago	285	450	207	176	73	39	27	61
Philadelphia	147	197	97	79	66	40	34	60
Detroit	190	205	150	85	79	41	21	59
San Francisco	146	135	123	64	84	47	16	53
Boston	20	32	16	18	80	56	20	44
Pittsburgh	24	26	10	3	42	11	58	89
St. Louis	65	81	43	23	66	28	34	72
Washington, D.C.	111	158	67	59	60	37	40	63
Cleveland	67	106	55	57	82	54	18	46
Baltimore	72	111	37	37	51	33	49	67

\* All areas are single SMSA's except (1) New York, which includes the New York-Northeastern New Jersey Standard Consolidated Area, (2) Chicago, which includes the Chicago combined SMSA's, and (3) Boston, which is comprised of the State Economic Area, including Boston, Lowell, and Lawrence-Haverhill SMSA's.

Sources: [18, 193]



111A-5 PERCENT OF CENTRAL CITY POPULATION NONWHITE, NEGRO, PUERTO RICAN OR OF SPANISH SURNAME, FOREIGN STOCK, AND MEXICAN STOCK: 1960

Central City	% Nonwhite of Total	% Negro of Nonwhite	% Puerto Rican stock & Spanish Surname of Total	% Foreign Stock of Total	% Mexican Stock of Foreign Stock
New York	12	95	6	46	0
Los Angeles	17	80	11	33	17
Chicago	24	97	1	36	3
Philadelphia	27	99	1	29	0
Detroit	29	99	0	32	1
San Francisco	18	55	7	43	5
Boston	10	92	0	45	0
Pittsburgh	17	99	0	30	0
St. Louis	29	99	0	14	1
Washington, D.C.	55	98	0	13	1
Cleveland	29	99	0	31	0
Baltimore	35	99	0	15	0

Source: [203, Table P-1]

111A-6 PERCENT OF SMSA POPULATION IN CENTRAL CITY, BY RACE AND NATIVITY: 1960

SMSA	Total	Negro	White			
			Total	Native of:		Foreign Born
				Native Parentage	Foreign Parentage	
New York	73	89	71	64	73	83
Los Angeles- Long Beach	42	74	39	36	45	63
Chicago	57	91	52	44	59	73
Philadelphia	46	79	40	35	51	60
Detroit	44	86	37	32	43	55
San Francisco- Oakland	40	66	36	31	43	57
Boston	27	81	26	23	27	34
Pittsburgh	25	62	22	21	26	29
St. Louis	36	73	30	29	39	46
Washington,D.C.	38	85	23	21	30	44
Cleveland	49	98	41	37	42	55
Baltimore	64	86	45	43	57	67

Source: [205, Tables 1 and 5]

IIIA-7 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF WHITE FROM NONWHITE, 1940-1960, AND INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF FOREIGN BORN WHITE FROM NATIVE WHITE, 1930 AND 1950

Central City	Segregation of Nonwhite from White			Segregation of Foreign Born White from Native White	
	1940	1950	1960	1930	1950
New York	86.8	87.3	79.3		
Los Angeles	84.2	84.6	81.8		
Chicago	95.0	92.1	92.6	39.4	35.9
Philadelphia	88.0	89.0	87.1	44.3	40.8
Detroit	89.9	88.8	84.5		
San Francisco	82.9	79.8	69.3		
Boston	86.3	86.5	83.9	40.4	37.5
Pittsburgh	82.0	84.0	84.6	42.6	38.4
St. Louis	92.6	92.9	90.5	48.8	37.6
Washington, D.C.	81.0	80.1	79.7		
Cleveland	92.0	91.5	91.3	44.9	40.1
Baltimore	90.1	91.5	89.6		

Sources: [181, Table 4; 118, Table 4]

IIIA-8 INDEX OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION OF WHITE FROM NONWHITE IN SELECT CENTRAL CITIES AND SUBURBAN COMMUNITIES: 1960

Central City	Index of Segregation Nonwhite from White	Select Suburbs	Index of Segregation Nonwhite from White
New York	79.3	Mount Vernon New Rochelle White Plains Yonkers	73.2 79.5 79.3 78.1
Los Angeles	81.8	Compton Pasadena Santa Monica	84.4 83.4 83.3
Chicago	92.6	Evanston Joliet	87.2 90.2
Philadelphia	87.1	Camden Chester	76.5 87.4
Detroit	84.5	Highland Park Inkster Pontiac	77.4 95.0 90.5
San Francisco	69.3	Berkeley Richmond San Mateo Vallejo	69.4 77.3 87.6 83.1
Boston	83.9	Cambridge	65.5
St. Louis	90.5	Centreville East St. Louis	88.6 92.0
Washington, D.C.	79.7	Alexandria	87.8
Baltimore	89.6	Annapolis	80.9

Source: [181, Table 12]

111A-9 NUMBER AND PERCENT OF NONWHITES IN THE CENTRAL CITIES LIVING IN CENSUS TRACTS WITH SPECIFIED PERCENT OF TRACT POPULATION NON-WHITE: 1940-1960

	Number of nonwhites in census tracts (numbers in thousands)						Percent distribution of nonwhites by percent nonwhite in census tract					
	Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite						Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite					
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-89	90-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-89	90-100
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-89	90-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-89	90-100
New York												
Total	100.7	169.0	186.0	111.5	128.0	366.0	9	15	16	17	11	32
Manhattan	89.1	55.2	55.7	27.2	23.9	224.2	9	13	13	16	6	53
Brooklyn	12.2	40.4	69.1	94.5	42.8	102.6	8	11	18	25	11	27
Los Angeles												
Total	65.3	31.8	46.0	73.6	113.6	86.8	6	8	11	18	27	21
Negro	21.6	15.4	33.6	63.1	102.8	83.4	4	5	10	19	32	25
other nonwhite	33.7	16.4	12.5	10.5	5.8	3.4	41	20	15	13	7	4
Chicago	9.7	18.4	34.4	63.1	160.9	551.0	1	2	4	8	19	66
Philadelphia	14.2	31.1	46.4	123.1	107.4	212.7	3	6	9	23	20	40
Detroit	6.3	16.6	42.3	131.4	140.4	142.2	1	3	9	27	30	29
San Francisco												
Total	16.0	21.3	33.1	42.8	16.1	6.7	12	16	24	31	12	5
Negro	4.5	9.1	23.9	25.7	11.2	0	6	12	22	25	15	0
other nonwhite	11.5	12.2	9.2	17.1	4.9	6.7	18	20	15	28	8	11
Boston	7.1	6.9	9.6	15.7	22.0	7.2	10	10	14	23	32	11
Pittsburgh	5.6	7.8	24.2	22.6	15.9	25.7	6	7	24	22	16	25
St. Louis	4.7	5.6	7.3	35.7	68.4	94.2	2	3	3	17	32	44
Washington, D.C.	4.3	12.3	40.7	65.5	95.0	284.0	1	3	10	16	23	48
Cleveland	9.1	5.1	18.5	42.4	47.4	120.6	4	2	7	17	19	52
Baltimore	7.4	5.9	21.6	38.4	69.6	185.4	2	2	7	19	21	56

	Number of nonwhites in census tracts (numbers in thousands)					Percent distribution of nonwhites by percent nonwhite in census tract				
	Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite					Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite				
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100
New York										
Total	754	729	985	114.8	414.1	10	9	13	15	53
Manhattan	268	341	263	41.0	283.1	6	8	6	10	69
Brooklyn	243	220	354	36.3	95.2	12	10	17	17	45
Los Angeles										
Total	9.8	17.8	28.3	27.7	87.7	6	10	17	16	51
Negro	14.2	11.6	7.2	6.2	2.1	35	29	18	13	5
other nonwhite										
Chicago	204	255	346	40.8	388.2	4	5	7	8	76
Philadelphia	197	402	71.3	106.1	141.7	5	11	19	28	37
San Francisco										
Total	5.6	9.0	17.7	11.2	0.1	13	21	41	26	0.2
Negro	7.0	4.4	10.3	6.0	10.2	19	12	27	16	27
other nonwhite										
Washington, D.C.	9.4	10.8	72.7	44.6	147.3	3	4	25	16	52

	Number of nonwhites in census tracts (numbers in thousands)					Percent distribution of nonwhites by percent nonwhite in census tract				
	Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite					Census tracts with specified percent of tract population nonwhite				
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100
	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100	0-9	10-24	25-49	50-74	75-100
New York										
Total	635	520	68.2	58.7	234.7	13	11	14	12	49
Manhattan	19.1	17.2	22.9	35.4	224.1	6	5	7	11	78
Brooklyn	25.0	17.4	35.7	19.7	128	23	15	32	18	72
Chicago	12.1	7.6	11.8	9.0	241.3	4	3	4	3	86
Philadelphia	22.8	40.7	52.1	90.1	47.3	9	16	21	36	19
Washington, D.C.	7.7	26.6	41.2	42.9	70.4	4	14	22	23	37

Sources: for 1960 [224, Table C], for 1940 and 1950 [129, Table A-2]

111A-10 ACTUAL AND EXPECTED DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE HOUSEHOLDS,  
WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN AREA, ON THE BASIS OF INCOME ONLY:  
POPULATION IN RING

	all incomes		less than \$4,000		\$4,000- \$6,999		\$7,000- \$9,999		\$10,000 or more	
	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected
New York	30,980	63,845	13,157	25,865	10,666	29,008	4,567	5,532	2,750	8,440
Los Angeles	43,975	102,671	16,033	40,409	15,905	35,782	7,686	17,006	4,351	8,844
Chicago	16,704	81,655	6,310	28,826	6,326	27,875	2,848	15,769	1,580	9,185
Philadelphia	34,614	83,640	16,787	37,703	11,852	29,147	4,156	11,501	1,819	5,289
Detroit	17,955	67,863	8,247	26,019	6,678	26,910	2,087	9,968	1,033	4,968
San Francisco	55,639	69,540	23,300	25,166	20,151	22,620	8,089	11,142	4,099	5,633
Boston	n.a.									
Pittsburgh	16,630	31,562	8,824	17,455	5,326	10,567	1,040	2,527	440	1,003
St. Louis	21,503	41,724	13,796	22,637	5,754	13,460	1,316	3,516	637	2,110
Washington, D.C.	15,913	61,987	7,215	20,271	5,135	21,168	2,199	12,707	1,264	7,841
Cleveland	1,563	29,077	506	9,216	625	10,693	271	5,348	161	3,820
Baltimore	10,639	33,982	5,470	13,901	3,552	12,708	1,082	4,956	535	2,417

Note: The number of nonwhite households expected in the ring was calculated under the assumption that in a metropolitan area whites and nonwhites of similar income are equally likely to be homeowners and equally likely to be living outside the central city.

Source: Calculated from [202, Tables 3 and 13]

IIIA-II ACTUAL AND EXPECTED DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE OWNERS AND RENTERS, WITHIN THE METROPOLITAN AREA, ON THE BASIS OF INCOME ONLY: POPULATION IN RING

A. IN OWNER OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS

	all incomes		less than \$4,000		\$4,000-\$6,999		\$7,000-\$9,999		\$10,000 or more	
	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected
New York	12,924	41,157	3,500	13,791	4,987	16,254	2,682	3,511	1,913	7,601
Los Angeles	24,447	58,197	5,896	17,643	9,271	20,187	5,624	12,445	3,656	7,292
Chicago	8,690	57,252	2,492	17,806	3,235	18,797	1,769	12,619	1,194	8,030
Philadelphia	18,386	59,215	6,744	22,736	7,046	21,964	3,050	9,760	1,516	4,755
Detroit	10,123	51,909	3,520	17,080	4,206	21,311	1,618	8,926	869	4,593
San Francisco	25,778	36,275	6,151	10,720	10,734	13,017	5,631	7,834	3,282	4,704
Boston	n.a.									
Pittsburgh	6,912	20,329	3,027	10,005	2,893	7,412	642	2,030	350	882
St. Louis	11,310	29,021	6,050	13,907	3,695	10,206	1,023	3,009	542	1,899
Washington, D.C.	8,528	33,718	3,081	8,188	2,911	10,733	1,523	8,525	1,013	6,272
Cleveland	846	21,424	248	5,925	294	7,740	178	4,427	126	3,332
Baltimore	5,206	23,734	2,260	8,168	1,826	9,290	691	4,127	429	2,149

B. IN RENTER OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS

	all incomes		less than \$4,000		\$4,000-\$6,999		\$7,000-\$9,999		\$10,000 or more	
	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected	actual	expected
New York	18,056	22,688	9,657	12,074	5,677	7,754	1,885	2,021	637	839
Los Angeles	19,528	44,474	10,137	22,766	6,634	15,595	2,062	4,561	695	1,552
Chicago	8,374	24,403	3,818	11,020	3,091	9,078	1,079	3,150	386	1,155
Philadelphia	16,228	24,425	10,013	14,967	4,806	7,183	1,106	1,741	303	534
Detroit	7,832	15,954	4,727	8,939	2,472	5,598	469	1,042	164	375
San Francisco	29,841	28,283	17,149	14,446	9,417	9,603	2,458	3,309	817	929
Boston	n.a.									
Pittsburgh	8,718	17,233	5,797	7,450	2,433	3,155	398	497	90	121
St. Louis	10,193	12,703	7,746	8,730	2,059	3,254	293	507	95	212
Washington, D.C.	8,285	28,269	4,134	12,083	2,224	10,435	676	4,182	251	1,569
Cleveland	717	7,653	258	3,291	331	2,953	93	921	35	488
Baltimore	5,433	10,248	3,210	5,733	1,726	3,418	391	829	106	268

Calculated from [202, Tables 3 and 13]

111B-1 AREA OF BIRTH OF NATIVE NONWHITE POPULATION IN THE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES: 1960

	% Born in State or Region of Residence	% Born in South	% Born in Remainder of Regions
New York	49.0	39.2	11.8
Los Angeles- Long Beach	38.7	45.6	15.7
Chicago	41.6	44.1	14.3
Philadelphia	52.5	39.6	7.9
Detroit	44.5	48.0	7.5
San Francisco- Oakland	50.2	37.5	11.9
Boston	52.2	35.3	12.5
Pittsburgh	56.2	35.7	8.2
St. Louis	51.6	39.9	8.5
Washington, D.C.	44.4	43.0	12.6
Cleveland	44.5	47.8	7.7
Baltimore	59.9	31.6	8.4

Source: [201, Table 98]

111B-2 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE IN-MIGRANTS BY REGION AND DIVISION OF ORIGIN AND PERCENT OF IN-MIGRANTS FROM OTHER METROPOLITAN AREAS: 1955-1960

	Same State	Region				Division of South			Percent of In-migrants from other SMSA's
		North-east	North Central	West	South	Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	
New York	2.5	11.4	6.6	2.9	7.6	67.0	7.3	2.3	48.8
Los Angeles-Long Beach	13.9	6.5	19.7	15.5	44.4	5.3	11.5	27.6	71.6
Chicago	5.3	3.5	18.1	4.4	68.7	8.2	46.2	14.3	44.0
Philadelphia	7.8 *	17.2	6.0	2.7	66.3	59.9	4.0	2.4	53.7
Detroit	8.3	6.5	16.9	3.9	64.4	21.0	33.8	9.6	56.6
San Francisco-Oakland	23.4	5.1	14.0	16.2	41.3	7.1	7.6	26.6	68.3
Boston	4.9	25.1	10.3	5.6	54.2	39.2	10.6	4.4	61.4
Pittsburgh	17.0	10.1	20.4	3.4	48.1	34.3	11.1	2.7	57.9
St. Louis	10.2 *	3.1	21.4	5.0	60.3	4.3	36.5	19.5	41.1
Washington, D.C.	6.8 *	13.6	7.6	3.5	68.5	60.8	4.6	3.1	47.2
Cleveland	11.1	10.8	14.6	2.6	60.9	22.6	34.2	4.1	56.2
Baltimore	8.8	13.1	4.2	2.6	71.3	66.5	3.1	1.7	43.7

\* Since SMSA crosses state boundaries, "same state" refers only to that portion of the in-migrants living within a given state within the SMSA and from a remaining portion of that state.

Sources: [207, Table 34; 208, Table 1]

111B-3 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF NONWHITE OUT-MIGRANTS BY REGION AND DIVISION OF DESTINATION AND PERCENT OF OUT-MIGRANTS TO OTHER METROPOLITAN AREAS: 1955-1960

	Same State	Region				Division of South			Percent of Out-Migrants to other SMSA's
		North-east	North Central	West	South	Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	
New York	13.2	21.0	8.1	12.0	37.7	30.9	3.2	3.6	65.6
Los Angeles-Long Beach	45.3	5.0	11.2	16.4	22.1	5.1	2.3	14.7	77.7
Chicago	10.4	7.0	29.7	24.0	28.9	8.1	12.2	8.6	66.3
Philadelphia	14.3 *	27.0	7.2	10.0	41.5	34.3	3.4	3.8	69.8
Detroit	16.5	10.0	25.8	17.6	30.1	13.9	10.0	6.2	73.7
San Francisco-Oakland	56.0	5.6	6.9	14.9	16.6	4.2	1.4	11.0	75.4
Boston	14.4	32.8	10.0	18.0	24.9	17.5	2.6	4.8	76.7
Pittsburgh	18.4	18.1	25.6	10.4	27.5	19.8	4.4	3.3	72.7
St. Louis	16.9 *	6.6	30.2	25.2	21.1	5.0	8.9	7.2	71.6
Washington, D.C.	5.9 *	25.3	10.1	12.2	46.5	39.0	3.4	4.1	67.2
Cleveland	26.2	13.7	15.2	16.2	28.7	12.8	11.9	4.0	70.5
Baltimore	18.6	28.8	5.8	7.1	39.7	34.3	2.7	2.7	64.0

\* Since SMSA crosses state boundaries, "same state" refers to out-migrants from that portion of the SMSA lying in a given state to remainder of that state.

Sources: [207, Table 36; 208, Table 5]

111B-4 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS IN 1960 BY MIGRATION STATUS, 1955-1960: PERCENT EMPLOYED MALES IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS, PERCENT OF MALES UNEMPLOYED, PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS SINGLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENT AGE 15-24 OF ALL PERSONS 15 AND OVER, AND PERCENT 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER COMPLETING ONE OR MORE YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL

A. Age and Education

	Percentage Age 15-24 of All Persons Age 15 and Over			Percentage Over 25 Completing One Or More Years of High School		
	non-migrant	in-migrant	out-migrant	non-migrant	in-migrant	out-migrant
New York	15	41	30	53	61	63
Los Angeles- Long Beach	17	31	26	64	75	68
Chicago	18	40	29	52	56	64
Philadelphia	19	37	34	49	60	64
Detroit	18	34	32	51	60	60
San Francisco- Oakland	17	34	26	57	69	71
Boston	17	38	25	61	64	80
Pittsburgh	19	29	39	48	57	64
St. Louis	19	34	35	42	50	60
Washington, D.C.	18	41	32	54	67	66
Cleveland	17	34	28	54	64	62
Baltimore	21	29	37	40	54	59

B. Occupation, Employment Status, and Household Status

	Percent employed males in white collar occupations			Percent of males unemployed			Percent of households single family households		
	non-migrant	in-migrant	out-migrant	non-migrant	in-migrant	out-migrant	non-migrant	in-migrant	out-migrant
New York	26	26	32	11	8	11	17	31	23
Los Angeles- Long Beach	30	34	29	9	13	16	21	20	25
Chicago	21	21	30	10	12	13	16	17	22
Philadelphia	18	21	27	11	13	12	20	14	22
Detroit	14	25	18	18	24	16	15	14	22
San Francisco- Oakland	27	31	37	11	17	12	22	19	26
Boston	23	24	50	7	7	11	26	29	25
Pittsburgh	12	28	32	16	26	14	19	14	23
St. Louis	17	21	26	10	11	14	20	14	24
Washington, D.C.	27	29	38	5	5	12	18	14	20
Cleveland	16	18	24	12	17	15	16	14	22
Baltimore	16	23	22	10	12	14	16	11	24

Source: [208, Tables 4 and 5]



111B-5 CHARACTERISTICS OF RESIDENTS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY OR CITIES IN 1960 BY MIGRATION STATUS, 1955-1960: PERCENT EMPLOYED MALES IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS, PERCENT OF MALES UNEMPLOYED, PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS SINGLE FAMILY HOUSEHOLDS, PERCENT AGE 15-24 OF ALL PERSONS 15 AND OVER, AND PERCENT 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER COMPLETING ONE OR MORE YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL

A. Percent of nonwhites in white collar occupations, by migration status

	Central City (Cities)				Ring			
	Same House	Mover within CC	Mover from Ring of Same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA	Same House	Mover within Ring	Mover from CC of same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA
New York	27	26	27	28	19	40	14	13
Los Angeles-Long Beach	32	28	32	33	32	28	32	29
Chicago	22	20	24	22	16	25	10	20
Philadelphia	20	18	29	21	15	27	12	21
Detroit	15	15	13	25	12	16	9	24
San Francisco-Oakland	29	25	30	29	27	32	23	36
Boston	23	18	28	17	27	48	33	48
Pittsburgh	16	14	12	24	8	24	6	32
St. Louis	21	16	13	21	14	15	12	20
Washington, D.C.	32	26	27	30	20	39	13	26
Cleveland	18	15	19	18	21	29	17	20
Baltimore	18	14	17	21	14	26	9	30

B. Percent of nonwhite males unemployed, by migration status

	Central City (Cities)				Ring			
	Same House	Mover within CC	Mover from Ring of Same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA	Same House	Mover within Ring	Mover from CC of same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA
New York	7	7	7	8	6	4	8	7
Los Angeles-Long Beach	12	12	12	13	13	14	13	12
Chicago	10	11	13	12	7	5	8	9
Philadelphia	10	12	9	14	8	6	10	11
Detroit	15	20	19	24	15	17	18	25
San Francisco-Oakland	9	12	10	19	11	10	13	14
Boston	9	7	4	8	6	2	7	3
Pittsburgh	14	19	18	29	13	13	19	22
St. Louis	8	9	6	11	13	8	16	12
Washington, D.C.	5	6	5	6	5	3	4	4
Cleveland	11	13	18	17	11	7	7	7
Baltimore	9	11	9	13	8	4	8	4

111B-5 (CONTINUED)

C. Percent of nonwhite households single person households, by migration status

	Central City (Cities)				Ring			
	Same House	Mover within CC	Mover from Ring of Same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA	Same House	Mover within Ring	Mover from CC of same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA
New York	27	24	23	29	17	10	14	15
Los Angeles-Long Beach	23	24	23	24	13	10	14	11
Chicago	23	20	21	21	15	6	10	12
Philadelphia	22	20	18	18	16	11	13	11
Detroit	16	16	10	18	12	13	7	12
San Francisco-Oakland	26	23	18	29	15	14	15	14
Boston	32	26	26	28	16	12	17	18
Pittsburgh	21	21	16	19	18	9	13	12
St. Louis	23	19	21	16	19	10	16	16
Washington, D.C.	19	19	17	18	13	10	8	9
Cleveland	17	16	18	17	16	11	11	9
Baltimore	18	15	10	11	11	15	12	17

D. Percent of nonwhites ages 15-24 of those 15 or older, by migration status

	Central City (Cities)				Ring			
	Same House	Mover within CC	Mover from Ring of Same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA	Same House	Mover within Ring	Mover from CC of same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA
New York	15	20	21	41	14	17	20	42
Los Angeles-Long Beach	15	18	24	32	16	19	20	30
Chicago	15	20	22	41	17	15	22	37
Philadelphia	16	22	25	36	18	24	25	38
Detroit	15	19	27	34	19	18	24	32
San Francisco-Oakland	14	18	23	34	13	20	22	35
Boston	14	20	25	37	15	18	22	36
Pittsburgh	16	21	28	28	18	22	25	31
St. Louis	15	21	26	34	18	20	25	33
Washington, D.C.	15	20	26	40	19	16	26	44
Cleveland	14	19	25	35	15	15	16	26
Baltimore	17	20	19	37	20	23	28	45

111B-5 (CONTINUED)

E. Percent of nonwhites 25 years old or more that have completed one or more years of high school

	Central City (Cities)				Ring			
	Same House	Mover within CC	Mover from Ring of Same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA	Same House	Mover within Ring	Mover from CC of same SMSA	Mover from outside this SMSA
New York	51	57	62	55	52	63	53	57
Los Angeles-Long Beach	59	66	72	73	61	69	68	69
Chicago	50	53	59	56	45	61	50	56
Philadelphia	46	53	64	58	41	57	47	63
Detroit	49	54	57	60	47	64	51	57
San Francisco-Oakland	51	58	65	68	56	69	60	70
Boston	59	60	61	59	63	80	65	78
Pittsburgh	49	52	51	57	41	56	49	57
St. Louis	44	45	50	49	32	50	40	53
Washington, D.C.	55	56	60	68	38	62	43	61
Cleveland	52	56	64	64	49	61	59	60
Baltimore	39	42	48	52	29	43	42	64

Source: [208, Tables 4 and 5]

IIIC-1 EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF PERSONS 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY COLOR: 1950 AND 1960 (PERCENT DISTRIBUTION BY LAST YEAR OF SCHOOL COMPLETED)

A. 1960

	Less than 4 Years High School		High School 4 Years		1 - 3 Years College		4 Years College or More	
	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
New York	58	70	24	21	8	5	10	4
Los Angeles- Long Beach	46	57	29	25	15	12	10	6
Chicago	56	71	25	18	10	7	9	4
Philadelphia	59	77	25	17	7	4	9	5
Detroit	57	73	27	18	8	6	8	3
San Francisco- Oakland	58	62	22	22	10	10	10	6
Boston	46	61	32	25	11	7	11	7
Pittsburgh	58	76	28	18	7	4	7	2
St. Louis	63	78	23	14	7	5	7	3
Washington, D.C.	34	68	29	18	16	7	21	7
Cleveland	55	73	27	19	9	5	9	3
Baltimore	63	80	22	13	7	4	8	3

B. 1950

	Less than 4 Years High School		High School 4 Years		1 - 3 Years College		4 Years College or More	
	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
New York	62	77	23	16	6	4	8	3
Los Angeles- Long Beach	47	65	30	22	13	8	9	4
Chicago	61	76	24	15	8	6	7	3
Philadelphia	64	84	23	11	5	3	7	2
Detroit	62	80	25	13	7	4	6	2
San Francisco- Oakland	48	71	31	18	11	6	10	4
Boston	51	68	32	22	8	6	9	5
Pittsburgh	65	82	23	13	6	3	6	2
St. Louis	69	85	19	10	6	3	6	2
Washington, D.C.	38	73	29	15	15	6	18	6
Cleveland	59	78	26	16	8	4	8	3
Baltimore	67	87	20	8	6	3	7	2

Source: [154, Table B]

111C-2 MEDIAN YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY THE POPULATION 25 YEARS OLD AND OVER, BY COLOR, LOCATION, AND FOR THE LOWER SEGMENT AND UPPER SEGMENT OF THE NONWHITE POPULATION: 1950 AND 1960

A. 1960

	Median Years of Education								Ratios			
	SMSA		CC		Ring		SMSA nonwhite		SMSA		CC Ring	
	white non-white		white non-white		white non-white		lower half upper half		nonwhite white		white non-white	
												lower half upper half
New York	108	95	102	95	121	95	73	123	.88	.84	1.00	.59
Los Angeles	122	111	122	111	121	112	82	129	.91	1.01	.99	.64
Chicago	111	93	102	93	121	96	70	122	.84	.84	.97	.57
Philadelphia	107	90	98	90	117	88	65	129	.84	.84	1.02	.50
Detroit	111	92	103	93	117	90	71	121	.93	.88	1.03	.59
San Francisco	122	102	121	103	123	107	71	126	.84	.98	.96	.56
Boston	121	105	113	102	122	117	80	125	.87	.93	.87	.64
Pittsburgh	107	89	102	91	109	86	63	130	.83	.94	1.06	.48
St. Louis	99	86	88	87	107	82	60	129	.87	.82	1.06	.47
Washington, D.C.	125	96	124	98	126	85	68	124	.77	.98	1.15	.55
Cleveland	114	96	97	95	122	100	70	122	.84	.80	.95	.57
Baltimore	101	83	93	84	109	61	57	112	.82	.85	1.38	.51

B. 1950

	Median Years of Education				Ratios	
	White	Nonwhite	Nonwhite		Nonwhite White	Lower Half Upper Half
			Lower Half	Upper Half		
New York	9.8	8.6	6.3	11.9	.88	.53
Los Angeles	12.1	9.8	7.2	12.4	.81	.58
Chicago	10.2	8.6	6.3	11.8	.84	.53
Philadelphia	9.8	8.2	5.6	10.5	.84	.53
Detroit	10.3	8.5	6.8	11.2	.83	.61
San Francisco	12.1	8.8	6.2	12.2	.73	.51
Boston	11.8	9.5	7.5	12.3	.81	.61
Pittsburgh	9.2	8.2	5.5	10.7	.89	.51
St. Louis	8.9	7.9	5.3	10.0	.89	.53
Washington, D.C.	12.4	8.6	6.1	12.1	.69	.50
Cleveland	10.7	8.7	6.0	11.6	.81	.52
Baltimore	9.0	7.1	4.9	9.5	.79	.52

Sources: [200, Table 87; 201, Table 76]

IIIC-3 ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE CENTRAL CITY,  
BY COLOR: 1960

Urban Place	Total	Nonwhite	Percent Nonwhite
New York	637,027	155,344	24
Los Angeles	285,167	59,462	21
Chicago	313,569	136,829	44
Philadelphia	164,262	82,265	50
Detroit	189,692	86,925	46
San Francisco	60,391	22,002	36
Boston	57,889	10,779	19
Pittsburgh	44,397	16,089	36
St. Louis	72,222	36,517	51
Washington, D.C.	80,726	64,489	80
Cleveland	90,010	42,748	47
Baltimore	114,203	59,985	53

Source: [201, Tables 73 and 77]

IIIC-4 ENROLLMENT IN PUBLIC ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN THE CENTRAL CITY,  
BY RACE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE SCHOOLS: 1965

	total number of students	percent of students Negro	percent of Negro students in schools 90-100 % Negro	percent of Negro students in schools 50% or more Negro	percent of white students in schools 90-100 % white
New York	592,044	31.0	20.7	55.5	56.8
Los Angeles	323,224	19.2	39.5	87.5	94.7
Chicago	390,225	52.8	89.2	96.9	88.8
Philadelphia	154,523	58.6	72.0	90.2	57.7
Detroit	194,338	55.3	72.3	91.5	65.0
San Francisco	49,813	28.8	21.1	72.3	65.1
Boston	58,570	28.9	35.4	79.5	76.5
Pittsburgh	47,363	39.4	49.5	82.8	62.3
St. Louis	90,602	63.3	90.9	93.7	66.0
Washington, D.C.	91,994	90.9	90.4	99.3	34.3
Cleveland	92,395	53.9	82.3	94.6	80.2
Baltimore	118,759	64.3	84.2	92.3	67.0

Source: [192, Vol. 2, Table A-1]

IIID-1 PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED PERSONS, BY OCCUPATION GROUP AND COLOR: 1950 AND 1960

A. 1960

	Prof. & Tech.		Man., Off. & Propr.		Clerical		Sales		Craftsmen & Foremen		Operatives		Other	
	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white
New York	13	6	11	3	20	12	8	2	13	6	18	25	17	46
Los Angeles-Long Beach	15	8	10	3	18	13	8	3	15	8	17	20	17	45
Chicago	12	5	9	1	19	12	8	2	16	7	18	25	18	48
Philadelphia	13	5	9	2	18	10	9	2	16	8	19	26	16	47
Detroit	13	5	8	2	17	9	9	2	17	8	20	29	16	45
San Francisco-Oakland	15	7	10	4	20	13	9	3	14	7	12	15	20	51
Boston	15	10	9	2	19	10	8	2	13	7	16	26	20	43
Pittsburgh	13	4	9	1	16	6	9	2	17	7	17	19	19	61
St. Louis	11	6	8	2	20	12	9	2	16	5	19	19	17	54
Washington, D.C.	23	7	11	2	27	18	8	2	12	6	6	12	13	53
Cleveland	13	5	9	2	18	9	9	2	16	8	19	26	16	48
Baltimore	13	5	9	1	19	8	9	2	17	7	17	21	16	56

B. 1950

	Prof. & Tech.		Man., Off. & Propr.		Clerical		Sales		Craftsmen & Foremen		Operatives		Other	
	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white
New York	12	4	12	3	19	9	8	2	14	6	20	29	15	47
Los Angeles-Long Beach	13	4	13	4	16	8	10	3	16	7	17	20	15	54
Chicago	10	3	10	3	19	9	8	2	17	8	21	31	15	44
Philadelphia	11	3	10	2	16	6	8	2	17	7	23	25	15	55
Detroit	9	3	9	2	15	6	8	2	19	9	26	38	14	40
San Francisco-Oakland	12	4	12	5	19	10	10	4	16	7	14	17	17	53
Boston	12	5	9	2	18	7	9	2	15	8	19	26	18	50
Pittsburgh	10	2	8	2	15	4	8	1	18	6	21	23	20	62
St. Louis	9	4	10	2	18	6	8	2	16	5	22	20	17	39
Washington, D.C.	20	4	10	2	31	16	8	1	14	6	7	15	10	56
Cleveland	11	3	10	2	17	6	9	2	18	9	22	27	13	51
Baltimore	10	3	11	2	18	4	9	2	19	6	20	20	13	63

Sources: [200, Table 76; 201, Tables 74 and 78]

111D-2 PERCENT OF EMPLOYED PERSONS IN WHITE COLLAR OCCUPATIONS AND  
PERCENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE UNEMPLOYED, BY COLOR: 1950  
AND 1960

A. SMIA

	Percent of Employed Persons in White Collar Occupations						Percent Unemployed					
	1950			1960			1950			1960		
	white	non- white	nonwhite white	white	non- white	nonwhite white	white	non- white	nonwhite white	white	non- white	nonwhite white
New York	51	18	.36	52	23	.45	6.0	9.8	1.6	4.4	6.7	1.5
Los Angeles- Long Beach	52	19	.37	51	27	.53	7.0	11.7	1.7	5.7	10.0	1.8
Chicago	47	17	.36	48	20	.42	3.4	11.4	3.4	3.3	11.2	3.4
Philadelphia	45	13	.29	49	19	.39	4.6	11.4	2.5	3.9	10.2	2.6
Detroit	41	13	.32	47	18	.38	5.4	11.7	2.2	6.2	17.2	2.8
San Francisco- Oakland	53	23	.43	54	27	.50	6.8	16.4	2.4	5.2	12.6	2.4
Boston	48	16	.33	51	24	.47	5.6	8.8	1.6	3.7	6.7	1.8
Pittsburgh	41	9	.22	47	13	.28	5.7	12.6	2.2	6.6	14.9	2.3
St. Louis	45	14	.31	48	22	.46	3.1	10.6	3.4	3.6	10.2	2.9
Washington, D.C.	69	23	.33	69	29	.42	2.2	5.7	2.5	1.9	5.5	2.9
Cleveland	47	13	.28	49	18	.37	3.7	10.9	3.0	4.3	12.2	2.9
Baltimore	46	11	.23	50	16	.32	4.0	9.4	2.3	4.3	8.7	2.0

Sources: [200, Tables 35, 36, and 76; 201, Tables 73, 74, 77 and 78]

B. CC, RING: 1960

	Percent of Employed Persons in White Collar Occupations						Percent Unemployed					
	Total			Nonwhite			Total			Nonwhite		
	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring
New York	48	55	.87	25	14	1.79	5	3	1.7	7	5	1.4
Los Angeles- Long Beach	51	48	1.06	27	26	1.04	6	5	1.2	9	5	1.8
Chicago	32	51	.63	22	17	1.29	5	2	2.5	12	7	1.7
Philadelphia	40	50	.80	20	16	1.25	6	3	2.0	11	8	1.4
Detroit	40	46	.87	23	15	1.53	10	6	1.7	17	16	1.1
San Francisco- Oakland	51	52	.98	28	26	1.08	6	5	1.2	11	10	1.1
Boston	44	53	.83	21	33	.64	5	3	1.7	7	4	1.8
Pittsburgh	43	42	1.02	16	11	1.45	9	7	1.3	15	15	1.0
St. Louis	37	46	.80	18	16	1.13	5	4	1.3	9	13	.7
Washington, D.C.	50	47	1.06	30	20	1.50	4	2	2.0	6	4	1.5
Cleveland	33	55	.60	19	21	.90	8	3	2.7	12	7	1.7
Baltimore	40	40	1.00	18	12	1.50	6	4	1.5	10	6	1.7

Source: [4, Tables B-1 and B-2]



111D-3 UNEMPLOYMENT AND SUBEMPLOYMENT IN SELECT SLUM AREAS: 1966

A. Unemployment in SMSA's and their Slum Areas

Area	Slum Area	Percent Nonwhite	Percent Unemployed		
			SMSA	Slum Area	Teenagers in slum area
New York	Central Harlem	94	4.0	8.1	218
Los Angeles	S. Central Los Angeles	81	4.2	10.7	n.a.
Philadelphia	North Philadelphia	89	2.8	11.0	27
San Francisco	Fillmore-Mission	51	4.5	11.1	35.7
Boston	Roxbury	70	3.4	6.8	21.1
St. Louis		93	2.9	12.9	40
Cleveland	4 neighbor-hoods	81.96	2.4	15.5	58*

\* Out of school and out of work

B. Subemployment in Slum Areas

	Sub-employment*	Part time employed of employed		Full time employed, earns less than \$60 per week (\$3,000 per year, 50 weeks)	Non-Participation in Labor Force Ages 20-64	Lost Adults Census Undercount
		Volun-tary	Involun-tary			
New York	29	na	4.6	12	10.3	n.a.
Los Angeles	33	na	na	na.	n.a.	20-3
Philadelphia	34	9	3	20	14	~20
San Francisco	25	6	7	7	12.3	n.a.
Boston	24	11	7	9	10.7	15.20
St. Louis	39	12	6	27	11	30
Cleveland	~50	na.	na.	na.	14.7	n.a.

\* A new index developed by the Department of Labor in order to more accurately record the employment situation in slum areas. This index includes: (1) those unemployed and actively looking for work, (2) those working part time when trying to find full time work, (3) heads of households under 65 earning less than \$60 per week working full time and individuals under 65, not heads of households, earning less than \$56 per week in full time jobs, (4) half the non-participants in the 20-64 year old age group, and (5) a conservative estimate of unemployment in the male undercount group.

Source: [226,227]

IIID-4 CORRELATIONS (SPEARMAN) BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND  
OCCUPATIONAL STATUS AND BETWEEN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION AND  
INTER-GENERATION OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY: 1930 AND 1950

	(Occupational dissimilarity between foreign born white males and native white males of native parentage in 1950) minus (occupational dissimilarity between second generation white males and native white males of native parentage in 1950) vs. Residential segregation of second generation whites from native whites of native parentage in 1930	Occupational dissimilarity between second generation white males and native white males of native parentage in 1950 vs. Residential segregation of second generation whites from native whites of native paren- tage in 1930
Chicago	.30	1.0
Philadelphia	.53	.60
Boston	.70	.90
Pittsburgh	.80	.80
Cleveland	.60	.90

Source: Computations based on [II8, Appendix F]

IIIE-1 MEDIAN INCOME OF PERSONS WITH INCOME, BY COLOR, LOCATION, AND FOR THE LOWER SEGMENT AND UPPER SEGMENT OF THE NON-WHITE POPULATION: 1950 AND 1960

A. 1960

	Median Income								Ratios			
	SMSA		CC		Ring		SMSA Nonwhite		SMSA	CC		SMSA
	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	lower half	upper half	nonwhite white	white	non-white	lower half
												upper half
New York	3755	2635	6365	4437	8026	4953	1365	3850	.70	.79	.90	.35
Los Angeles	3856	2848	7287	5050	7218	5412	1250	4505	.74	1.01	.93	.28
Chicago	4090	2715	7231	4742	8160	5285	1185	4335	.66	.89	.90	.27
Philadelphia	3634	2319	6269	4248	7114	4455	1045	3800	.64	.88	.95	.28
Detroit	4182	2444	6776	4366	7480	4508	965	4515	.58	.91	.97	.21
San Francisco	3942	2857	7004	5306	7547	5306	1220	4590	.72	.93	1.00	.27
Boston	3291	2308	5877	4235	7035	5394	1090	3615	.70	.84	.79	.30
Pittsburgh	3543	1962	5913	3833	6061	3915	855	3765	.55	.98	.98	.23
St. Louis	3737	1918	5833	3718	6942	3338	830	3565	.51	.84	1.11	.23
Washington, D.C.	4377	2587	7692	4800	8500	4774	1195	4115	.59	.90	1.01	.29
Cleveland	4006	2498	6339	4750	7985	5519	1075	4395	.62	.79	.86	.24
Baltimore	3680	2125	6338	4123	6925	4181	915	3655	.58	.92	.99	.25

B. 1950

	Median Income of Persons with Income						Ratios	
	white	nonwhite	Nonwhite		nonwhite white	lower half upper half		
			lower half	upper half				
New York	2554	1700	985	2375	.67		.41	
Los Angeles	2297	1685	815	2545	.73		.32	
Chicago	2695	1930	990	2690	.72		.37	
Philadelphia	2429	1550	815	2340	.64		.35	
Detroit	2902	2290	1040	3085	.79		.34	
San Francisco	2557	1920	900	2715	.76		.33	
Boston	2191	1495	895	2300	.77		.39	
Pittsburgh	2359	1605	765	2425	.68		.32	
St. Louis	2403	1405	700	2240	.58		.31	
Washington, D.C.	2892	1835	1005	2530	.63		.40	
Cleveland	2611	1725	845	2581	.66		.33	
Baltimore	2399	1345	690	2205	.56		.31	

Sources: [200, Table 87; 201, Table 76]

111E-2 PERCENT OF FAMILIES WITH 1959 INCOME BELOW \$4,000 AND PERCENT WITH 1959 INCOME OF \$8,000 OR MORE, BY COLOR AND LOCATION: 1960

	\$4,000 or Less						\$8,000 or More					
	Total			Nonwhite			Total			Nonwhite		
	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring
New York	25	12	2.1	44	36	1.2	31	49	.6	14	19	.7
Los Angeles- Long Beach	22	17	1.3	36	29	1.2	39	41	1.0	20	24	.8
Chicago	20	10	2.0	40	32	1.3	37	51	.7	18	21	.9
Philadelphia	27	16	1.7	46	43	1.1	27	39	.7	12	14	.9
Detroit	26	14	1.9	45	42	1.1	31	43	.7	13	13	1.0
San Francisco- Oakland	22	15	1.5	35	32	1.1	36	43	.8	31	20	1.6
Boston	26	15	1.7	47	35	1.3	25	39	.6	13	25	.5
Pittsburgh	28	22	1.3	53	51	1.0	25	29	.9	8	7	1.1
St. Louis	32	17	1.9	54	59	.9	22	36	.6	10	8	1.3
Washington, D.C.	28	11	2.5	38	42	.9	34	53	.6	22	18	.8
Cleveland	25	10	2.5	39	27	1.4	26	50	.5	16	23	.7
Baltimore	29	16	1.8	48	47	1.0	26	36	.7	12	11	1.1

Source: [4, Tables B-1 and B-2]

IIIE-3 MEDIAN INCOME OF WORKERS IN SELECT OCCUPATION GROUPS, BY  
COLOR: 1960

A. All workers, craftsmen and foremen, operatives

	All Workers			Craftsmen & Foremen			Operatives		
	total	nonwhite	nonwhite white	total	nonwhite	nonwhite white	total	nonwhite	nonwhite white
New York	5,119	3,659	.70	5,537	4,081	.74	4,396	4,126	.94
Los Angeles- Long Beach	5,684	4,152	.73	6,008	4,659	.77	5,089	4,241	.83
Chicago	5,615	4,104	.73	6,286	4,614	.73	5,159	4,253	.82
Philadelphia	5,077	3,580	.71	5,503	4,004	.73	4,696	3,779	.80
Detroit	5,604	4,195	.75	6,379	4,440	.73	5,089	4,393	.86
San Francisco- Oakland	5,705	4,263	.75	6,223	5,217	.84	5,270	4,499	.85
Boston	5,090	3,323	.65	5,378	3,981	.74	4,501	3,454	.77
Pittsburgh	5,048	3,629	.72	5,484	3,982	.73	4,814	4,016	.83
St. Louis	5,250	3,456	.66	5,874	3,737	.64	4,907	3,776	.77
Washington, D.C.	5,337	3,533	.66	5,605	4,027	.72	4,000	3,487	.87
Cleveland	5,571	4,163	.75	6,030	4,576	.76	5,219	4,562	.87
Baltimore	4,816	3,330	.69	5,273	3,705	.70	4,364	3,562	.82

B. White Collar Occupations

	Professional & Technical			Managers, Officers, & Proprietors			Clerical			Sales		
	total	non- white	nonwhite total	total	non- white	nonwhite total	total	non- white	nonwhite total	total	non- white	nonwhite total
New York	7,173	4,771	.67	7,346	3,770	.51	4,589	3,817	.83	5,645	3,524	.62
Los Angeles- Long Beach	7,743	6,096	.79	7,190	5,163	.65	5,108	4,391	.86	5,828	4,326	.74
Chicago	7,385	5,226	.71	8,474	4,834	.57	5,077	4,296	.87	6,375	4,016	.63
Philadelphia	6,897	4,800	.70	7,229	3,897	.54	4,788	4,170	.87	5,436	3,032	.56
Detroit	7,931	5,425	.68	8,085	4,384	.54	5,420	4,645	.85	5,233	1,863	.36
San Francisco- Oakland	7,224	5,106	.82	7,161	5,021	.63	5,166	4,427	.86	5,816	3,861	.66
Boston	6,241	4,781	.70	7,120	4,250	.57	4,598	3,714	.82	5,345	2,833	.46
Pittsburgh	6,899	4,571	.66	7,284	3,722	.51	5,021	4,482	.89	5,113	2,319	.45
St. Louis	6,733	4,323	.72	7,659	3,365	.44	4,947	4,223	.85	5,664	2,670	.47
Washington, D.C.	8,019	5,223	.65	8,467	4,378	.52	4,899	4,244	.88	6,121	2,424	.47
Cleveland	7,362	5,228	.71	8,250	4,452	.54	5,203	4,197	.90	5,825	2,853	.49
Baltimore	6,764	4,898	.72	7,118	3,713	.52	4,802	3,919	.82	5,117	2,306	.45

Source: [201, Table 124]

IIIF-1 OWNER OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS, BY COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: 1950 AND 1960

	Number of Owner-Occupied Dwelling Units				Percent Increase 1950-60		Percent Owner-occupied: 1960	
	1960		Increase: 1950-60		1950-60		1950-60	
	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite
New York	1,106,140	59,740	603,140	29,943	52	100	34	16
Los Angeles-Long Beach	1,173,080	70,942	423,423	41,498	56	141	56	41
Chicago	915,517	45,300	365,361	20,581	57	83	51	18
Philadelphia	803,509	82,170	213,948	42,401	36	106	70	45
Detroit	706,982	60,641	221,414	33,679	46	125	71	41
San Francisco-Oakland	467,160	36,173	133,935	22,892	40	172	55	37
Boston	397,195	5,550	112,173	2,711	39	95	52	21
Pittsburgh	448,372	15,877	121,343	6,326	37	66	65	35
St. Louis	359,610	27,448	121,985	11,473	51	72	62	34
Washington, D.C.	244,547	44,555	96,580	19,804	65	80	49	35
Cleveland	310,576	20,467	90,684	11,188	41	121	62	30
Baltimore	275,835	32,834	88,658	17,045	47	108	64	36

Source: [154, Tables D-1 and F]

IIIF-2 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN OWNER OCCUPIED DWELLING UNITS BY FAMILY INCOME IN 1959 AND COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: 1960

	Percent Homeownership in 1960 by Family Income in 1959											
	All Families		Under \$4,000		\$4,000-\$5,999		\$6,000-\$6,999		\$7,000-\$9,999		\$10,000 & Over	
	total	non-white	total	non-white	total	non-white	total	non-white	total	non-white	total	non-white
New York	34	16	18	8	26	16	37	22	44	31	56	47
Los Angeles-Long Beach	56	41	37	26	45	42	60	52	69	59	79	72
Chicago	51	18	31	10	38	18	51	23	60	29	72	44
Philadelphia	70	45	50	30	68	53	78	64	82	72	87	81
Detroit	71	41	50	27	63	46	77	56	83	64	89	78
San Francisco-Oakland	55	37	34	19	43	40	60	52	68	60	78	72
Boston	52	21	32	13	44	24	56	32	64	38	77	50
Pittsburgh	65	36	49	26	62	43	72	53	77	59	84	71
St. Louis	62	34	42	25	57	42	70	50	76	57	84	69
Washington, D.C.	49	35	26	21	34	34	48	44	59	57	73	71
Cleveland	62	30	43	18	50	29	64	40	72	48	82	63
Baltimore	64	36	42	22	60	43	72	53	78	62	84	73

Source: [154, Table D-1]

IIIF-3 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD AND OVER-CROWDED DWELLING UNITS, BY TENURE AND COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: 1950 AND 1960

	Owner Occupied Dwelling Units						Renter Occupied Dwelling Units					
	% Substandard			% Overcrowded			% Substandard			% Overcrowded		
	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite
	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white
New York	1	5	5.0	4	11	2.8	8	25	3.1	12	24	2.0
Los Angeles-Long Beach	1	1	1.0	7	15	2.1	6	10	1.7	9	20	2.2
Chicago	2	8	4.0	7	15	2.1	13	29	2.2	9	30	3.3
Philadelphia	1	6	6.0	4	10	2.5	8	20	2.5	7	22	3.1
Detroit	2	5	2.5	9	13	1.4	9	14	1.6	9	21	2.3
San Francisco-Oakland	1	2	2.0	5	17	3.4	10	22	2.2	7	22	3.1
Boston	2	9	4.5	5	8	1.6	12	25	2.1	8	14	1.8
Pittsburgh	6	21	3.5	7	14	2.0	20	43	2.2	12	26	2.2
St. Louis	5	25	5.0	10	20	2.0	23	47	2.1	16	32	2.0
Washington, D.C.	1	8	8.0	6	14	2.8	6	17	2.8	7	27	3.9
Cleveland	1	4	4.0	5	10	2.0	9	17	1.9	8	23	2.9
Baltimore	3	9	3.0	5	16	3.0	9	18	2.0	10	26	2.6

B. 1950, by Tenure

	Owner Occupied Dwelling Units						Renter Occupied Dwelling Units					
	% Substandard			% Overcrowded			% Substandard			% Overcrowded		
	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite
	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white
New York	5	15	3.4	7	15	2.3	13	36	3.0	17	25	1.5
Los Angeles	5	7	1.5	8	16	2.1	12	27	2.3	12	26	2.2
Chicago	10	34	3.4	8	20	2.6	23	62	2.7	15	41	2.7
Philadelphia	5	19	4.2	n.a.			18	54	3.1	n.a.		
Detroit	8	16	2.1	8	18	2.1	16	37	2.4	12	29	2.5
San Francisco-Oakland	3	11	3.2	n.a.			12	31	2.5	n.a.		
St. Louis	18	59	3.3	12	26	2.2	41	81	2.0	23	38	1.7
Washington, D.C.	7	24	2.0	n.a.			9	39	4.3	n.a.		

\* Ratio calculated before rounding.

C. 1950 and 1960

	Percent Substandard						Percent Overcrowded					
	1950			1960			1950			1960		
	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite	white	non-white	nonwhite
	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white	white
New York	9.9	33.8	3.4	5.4	23.0	4.3	12.4	24.4	2.0	8.6	22.3	2.6
Los Angeles	8.2	19.0	2.3	3.2	6.2	1.9	9.7	22.7	2.3	8.0	17.4	2.2
Chicago	17.6	59.3	3.4	6.8	25.4	3.7	11.7	35.9	3.1	8.5	27.3	3.2
Philadelphia	10.0	42.8	4.3	3.1	13.8	4.5	7.1	21.9	3.1	4.9	16.3	3.3
Detroit	10.1	24.3	2.9	3.6	10.3	2.9	9.6	25.3	2.6	8.6	17.5	2.0
San Francisco-Oakland	9.1	25.6	2.8	5.0	14.9	3.0	7.8	21.8	3.8	6.0	19.7	3.3
St. Louis	28.1	75.0	2.7	11.1	39.4	3.5	16.6	35.2	2.1	11.8	28.0	2.4
Washington, D.C.	8.0	33.9	4.2	3.7	13.6	3.7	9.3	28.7	3.1	6.2	22.6	3.6

Sources: [129, Tables 21, 22, 25, and 26; 202, Tables 1, 2, 11, and 12]

111F-4 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS IN SUBSTANDARD DWELLING UNITS, BY TENURE, LOCATION, AND COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: 1960

	Owner Occupied Dwelling Units						Renter Occupied Dwelling Units					
	White			Nonwhite			White			Nonwhite		
	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring	CC	Ring	CC Ring
New York	1.3	0.7	1.7	4.5	7.3	0.6	8.3	6.8	1.2	24.5	36.2	0.7
Los Angeles	0.9	1.2	0.7	1.1	6.0	0.2	7.7	5.0	1.6	9.2	11.4	0.8
Chicago	1.8	1.7	1.0	5.5	18.8	0.3	14.0	9.1	1.5	28.0	46.0	0.6
Philadelphia	0.6	2.0	0.3	2.6	16.8	0.2	7.3	8.8	0.8	18.0	32.9	0.6
Detroit	0.8	2.2	0.4	3.5	10.2	0.3	9.2	9.9	0.9	13.0	27.5	0.5
San Francisco	0.7	0.9	0.8	2.3	2.0	1.1	14.6	6.1	2.4	28.5	11.7	2.4
Boston	n.a.			n.a.			n.a.			n.a.		
Pittsburgh	5.5	6.2	0.9	17.6	25.6	0.7	21.4	19.0	1.1	40.1	49.6	0.8
St. Louis	4.9	5.4	0.9	11.0	44.4	0.3	24.8	19.1	1.3	41.6	68.6	0.6
Washington, D.C.	0.7	1.6	0.4	2.4	32.1	0.1	8.8	4.1	2.2	13.8	45.5	0.3
Cleveland	1.6	0.8	1.9	3.5	16.3	0.2	11.4	4.3	2.7	17.4	19.7	0.9
Baltimore	1.2	3.7	0.3	2.8	41.1	0.1	5.6	13.5	0.4	14.8	52.9	0.3

Source: [202, Tables 1, 2, 11 and 12]



IIIF-5 GROSS MEDIAN RENT OF NONWHITE OCCUPIED RENTAL UNITS BY FAMILY INCOME IN 1949 AND 1959: 1950 AND 1960

	Less than \$2,000		\$2,000- \$2,999		\$3,000- \$3,999		\$4,000- \$4,999		\$5,000- \$6,999		\$7,000 or more	
	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960	1950	1960
New York	39	61	42	63	44	65	46	68	48	71	54	78
Los Angeles	36	64	39	67	43	72	44	74	48	76	46	82
Chicago	38	71	44	80	47	85	50	89	53	96	56	106
Detroit	44	68	45	74	47	77	49	78	52	81	55	83
St. Louis	27	48	31	56	33	60	38	65	39	69	42	76

Sources: [129, Table A-10; 202, Table 13]

IIIF-6 GROSS MEDIAN RENT OF OCCUPIED RENTAL UNITS, BY COLOR OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD: 1950 AND 1960

	Median Rent (dollars)				Percent change 1950 to 1960	
	White		Nonwhite		white	nonwhite
	1950	1960	1950	1960		
New York	49	75	42	67	53	60
Los Angeles	45	85	39	72	89	85
Chicago	50	89	43	88	78	105
Detroit	50	79	46	76	58	65
St. Louis	40	70	29	57	75	97

Sources: [129, Table A-10; 202, Table 13]

IIIF-7 RACIAL DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN PUBLIC HOUSING IN THE  
CENTRAL CITY: 1960 AND 1965

	1960			1965		
	All occupied units	Percent Negro Occupied	Percent of all Negro occupied units in projects 75 percent or more Negro	All occupied units	Percent Negro Occupied	Percent of all Negro occupied units in projects 75 percent or more Negro
New York	40,652	42.1	19	55,271	43.5	15
Los Angeles	8,518	63.2	76	8,450	58.7	66
Chicago *	18,030	85.9	na.	28,826	90.5	94
Philadelphia	10,611	52.2	69	13,578	62.5	88
Detroit	7,597	51.8	79	7,953	58.9	98
San Francisco	4,345	54.2	na.	5,403	57.9	63
Boston	10,013	16.5	58	10,415	26.2	36
Pittsburgh	6,851	48.5	na.	8,138	na.	na.
St. Louis	5,574	75.5	77	5,855	83.8	87
Washington, D.C.	7,067	92.6	98	8,483	93.4	99
Cleveland	5,856	51.3	81	7,224	47.0	87
Baltimore	9,125	70.7	85	10,527	78.3	95

\* Includes occupied units and unoccupied, but available, units

Source: [279, 280]

111G-1 PERCENT OF HOUSEHOLDS WITH 1 OR MORE AUTOMOBILES AVAILABLE, ALL FAMILIES AND SELECT INCOME GROUPS, AND AVERAGE EXPENDITURE PER YEAR FOR AUTOMOBILES BY FAMILIES OWNING AUTOMOBILES: 1960, AND 1960-61

	Percent of Households with 1 or More Automobiles Available								Average expenditure per year for automobile for families owning automobiles*
	All Families		1959 Family Income, Select Income Groups						
			Less than \$3,000		\$5,000- \$5,999		\$10,000 or more		
	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	white	nonwhite	
New York	53	26	24	8	48	34	73	56	1,030
Los Angeles	83	74	46	44	86	85	98	96	1,080
Chicago	76	47	28	20	65	58	88	76	1,080
Philadelphia	66	38	27	18	69	50	88	70	1,010
Detroit	84	59	44	32	83	71	91	87	1,140
San Francisco	63	55	27	24	62	64	91	87	1,150
Boston	n.a.								1,070
Pittsburgh	70	45	30	23	72	63	91	82	1,060
St. Louis	75	47	33	23	78	63	93	80	830
Washington, D.C.	59	47	32	21	51	56	86	79	1,040
Cleveland	83	62	37	30	80	73	95	84	950
Baltimore	72	40	32	19	73	52	91	74	940

\* Includes purchase and operation of automobiles. Purchase is net of trade-in allowance (or sale) and discounts, but includes financing charges.

Sources: [202, Tables 3 and 13; 223, p. 2]

111G-2 INFANT MORTALITY RATES IN CENTRAL CITIES, BY COLOR: 1955-1957 AND 1960-1962

	Rate per 1000 Live Births						Percent Change	
	1955-57			1960-62			1955-57 to 1960-62	
	white	nonwhite	<u>nonwhite</u> <u>white</u>	white	nonwhite	<u>nonwhite</u> <u>white</u>	white	nonwhite
New York	22.1	39.9	1.8	21.9	41.9	1.9	-0.9	5.0
Los Angeles	23.4	33.2	1.4	22.1	30.6	1.4	-5.6	-7.8
Chicago	22.5	42.1	1.9	22.7	38.1	1.7	0.9	-9.5
Philadelphia	25.1	44.1	1.8	25.8	40.3	1.6	2.8	-8.6
Detroit	23.1	35.4	1.5	24.4	36.3	1.5	5.6	2.5
San Francisco	22.2	28.1	1.3	22.8	27.5	1.2	2.7	-2.1
Boston	n.a.	n.a.		23.2	33.9	1.5		
Pittsburgh	20.9	41.5	2.0	25.3	39.5	1.6	21.1	-4.8
St. Louis	23.5	39.0	1.7	23.9	41.9	1.8	1.7	7.4
Washington, D.C.	26.4	38.8	1.5	27.7	39.0	1.4	4.9	0.5
Cleveland	24.0	40.6	1.7	24.5	38.5	1.6	2.1	-5.2
Baltimore	24.9	42.9	1.7	26.1	40.2	1.6	0.8	-6.3

Source: [94, Table 5]

IIIH-1 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, BY LOCATION:  
1947 AND 1963 (NUMBER IN THOUSANDS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963
New York	1,033.6	1,147.2	11	940.2	n.a.		934	n.a.		91	
Los Angeles	358.8	746.0	107	167.2	280.2	68	191.6	465.8	143	47	38
Chicago	945.3	860.6	-9	667.4	508.8	-24	277.9	351.8	27	71	66
Philadelphia	532.5	535.8	1	328.6	264.9	-19	203.9	270.9	33	62	49
Detroit	555.8	493.9	-11	338.4	200.6	-61	217.4	293.3	35	61	41
San Francisco	163.6	196.2	20	61.6	60.6	-2	102.0	135.6	33	37	31
Boston	271.4	293.3	8	101.7	82.5	-19	169.7	210.8	24	37	28
Pittsburgh	338.0	272.2	-19	81.4	81.7	0	252.6	190.5	-26	24	30
St. Louis	249.5	259.7	4	172.9	129.1	-25	76.6	86.8	13	71	50
Washington, D.C.	225	501	123	17.8	22.1	24	4.7	28.0	496	79	44
Cleveland	268.8	280.3	4	223.6	168.9	-24	45.2	111.4	146	83	60
Baltimore	170.1	190.5	11	120.9	103.9	-14	49.2	86.6	76	71	55

Source: [218]

IIIH-2 NUMBER OF PRODUCTION EMPLOYEES IN MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES,  
BY LOCATION: 1947 AND 1963 (NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963	% Change 1947-1963	1947	1963
New York	812.2	760.8	-6	741.2	n.a.		71	n.a.		91	
Los Angeles	281.8	494.9	76	132.2	187.1	42	149.6	307.8	106	47	38
Chicago	756.1	693.5	-22	532.1	350.4	-34	224.0	243.1	9	70	59
Philadelphia	437.6	374.8	-14	268.4	185.7	-31	169.2	189.1	12	61	50
Detroit	466.9	329.7	-29	281.4	141.4	-50	185.5	188.3	2	60	43
San Francisco	131.2	126.0	-3	47.8	35.4	-26	83.4	90.6	9	36	28
Boston	215.4	192.6	-11	79.5	57.2	-28	135.9	135.4	0	37	30
Pittsburgh	284.0	181.1	-36	65.3	39.6	-39	244.4	141.5	-42	23	22
St. Louis	200.1	179.4	-10	141.2	88.8	-37	58.9	90.6	54	71	49
Washington, D.C.	135	27.9	107	10.0	11.3	11	3.5	16.6	375	74	41
Cleveland	218.9	144.2	-11	181.7	115.4	-36	37.2	78.8	111	83	59
Baltimore	138.8	134.0	-3	97.7	76.1	-22	41.1	57.9	41	70	57

Source: [218]

IIH-3 VALUE ADDED BY MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES, BY LOCATION: 1947 AND 1963 (IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1947	1963
New York	6,006	11,437	90	5,520	n.a.		486	n.a.		92	80
Los Angeles	2,053	8,980	337	931	3,167	140	1,122	5,813	418	45	35
Chicago	5,529	10,291	86	3,824	5,888	54	1,705	4,403	158	69	57
Philadelphia	2,803	6,032	115	1,759	2,779	58	1,044	3,253	212	63	46
Detroit	2,911	6,690	130	1,831	2,815	55	1,080	3,875	259	63	42
San Francisco	1,049	2,568	145	410	611	49	639	1,957	206	39	24
Boston	1,392	3,014	117	546	933	71	846	2,081	146	39	31
Pittsburgh	1,708	2,879	69	421	651	55	1,287	2,228	73	25	23
St. Louis	1,296	3,119	141	911	1,477	62	385	1,642	326	70	47
Washington, D.C.	119	525	331	99	257	160	20	268	1,240	83	49
Cleveland	1,546	3,379	119	1,290	1,997	55	256	1,382	440	83	59
Baltimore	890	2,336	162	667	1,293	94	223	1,043	368	74	55

Source: [218]

111H-4 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN RETAIL TRADE, BY LOCATION: 1948 AND 1963 (NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1947	1963
New York	611.2	649.3	6	538.3	469.3	-11	72.9	180.0	147	86	72
Los Angeles	291.8	295.2	35	155.5	168.9	9	136.3	226.3	66	53	43
Chicago	343.1	346.6	1	242.8	237.7	-19	100.3	158.9	58	74	60
Philadelphia	232.2	242.8	5	154.3	118.8	-23	77.9	124.0	59	66	49
Detroit	186.3	193.9	4	132.8	82.2	-35	53.5	107.7	101	71	44
San Francisco	145.3	169.6	17	67.9	61.6	-9	75.4	108.0	43	47	36
Boston	159.4	167.6	5	81.5	60.0	-26	77.9	107.6	38	51	36
Pittsburgh	144.6	124.0	-14	70.7	46.4	-34	73.9	77.6	5	49	38
St. Louis	111.9	117.9	5	74.3	60.1	-36	37.6	67.8	80	67	43
Washington, D.C.	97.6	131.5	35	76.4	64.0	-16	21.2	67.5	218	78	49
Cleveland	100.3	106.2	6	80.1	53.8	-33	20.2	52.4	159	80	51
Baltimore	92.2	104.5	13	80.6	64.7	-20	11.6	39.8	243	87	62

Sources: [196, Tables 2 and 5; 215, Tables 3 and 4]

111H-5 RETAIL SALES, BY LOCATION: 1948 AND 1963 (IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1947	1963
New York	4.6	15.6	63	8.0	10.5	31	1.6	5.1	219	84	67
Los Angeles	4.7	10.7	126	2.4	4.5	88	2.3	6.2	170	50	42
Chicago	6.0	9.9	65	4.3	5.6	29	1.7	4.3	153	73	57
Philadelphia	3.3	5.7	72	2.1	2.5	18	1.2	3.2	267	63	53
Detroit	3.0	6.4	79	2.1	2.3	10	.9	3.1	244	69	43
San Francisco	2.4	4.5	91	1.0	1.5	43	1.4	3.0	114	44	33
Boston	2.3	4.0	76	1.1	1.2	14	1.2	2.8	133	48	31
Pittsburgh	2.0	2.9	45	.9	1.0	11	1.1	1.9	73	44	34
St. Louis	1.6	2.8	82	1.0	1.1	8	.6	1.7	183	63	38
Washington, D.C.	1.5	3.4	127	1.1	1.4	28	.4	2.0	400	74	42
Cleveland	1.5	2.7	78	1.2	1.3	8	.3	1.4	367	77	47
Baltimore	1.2	2.3	85	1.1	1.3	25	.1	1.0	1000	86	58

Sources: [196, Tables 2 and 5; 215, Tables 3 and 4]

IIH-6 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN WHOLESALE TRADE, BY LOCATION: 1948 AND 1963 (NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1947	1963
New York	329.1	334.3	2	314.9	212.9	-7	14.2	43.4	206	96	87
Los Angeles	91.9	153.2	67	66.1	82.9	26	25.8	70.3	172	72	54
Chicago	150.8	176.2	17	138.2	125.4	-9	12.6	50.8	303	92	71
Philadelphia	72.4	91.0	26	64.0	62.1	-3	8.4	28.9	244	88	68
Detroit	50.0	68.0	36	45.1	46.5	3	4.9	21.5	339	90	68
San Francisco	63.3	74.1	17	47.9	37.0	-23	15.4	37.1	141	76	50
Boston	60.5	65.9	9	46.3	34.0	-27	14.2	31.9	125	77	62
Pittsburgh	36.8	39.4	7	30.5	23.7	-22	6.3	15.7	149	83	60
St. Louis	48.3	49.9	3	43.8	35.1	-20	4.5	14.8	229	91	70
Washington, D.C.	18.8	30.2	61	17.1	19.7	15	1.7	10.5	518	91	65
Cleveland	38.2	46.4	21	36.8	34.0	-8	1.4	12.4	786	96	73
Baltimore	26.1	32.7	25	24.7	27.5	11	1.1	5.2	373	95	84

Sources: [196, Tables 2 and 5; 216, Tables 4 and 5]

IIH-7 NUMBER OF EMPLOYEES IN SELECT SERVICES, BY LOCATION: 1948 AND 1963 (NUMBERS IN THOUSANDS)

	SMSA			CC			RING			% of SMSA in CC	
	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1948	1963	% Change 1948-1963	1947	1963
New York	231.2	449.7	94	213.5	379.2	78	17.7	70.5	298	92	84
Los Angeles	77.3	242.0	213	45.9	122.7	167	31.4	119.3	280	59	51
Chicago	107.7	201.2	87	89.6	143.4	60	18.1	57.8	219	83	71
Philadelphia	56.6	104.7	85	41.1	65.4	59	15.5	39.3	154	73	62
Detroit	48.7	90.6	86	40.5	56.8	40	8.2	33.8	312	83	63
San Francisco	39.5	95.0	140	22.0	45.3	106	17.5	49.7	184	56	48
Boston	37.9	73.7	94	19.3	35.9	86	18.6	37.8	103	51	49
Pittsburgh	27.7	49.0	77	16.7	26.2	57	11.0	22.8	107	60	53
St. Louis	26.4	52.5	98	19.8	31.8	61	6.6	20.7	214	75	61
Washington, D.C.	24.0	72.1	201	19.7	42.7	117	4.3	29.4	584	82	59
Cleveland	24.2	49.1	102	20.8	32.4	56	3.4	16.7	391	86	66
Baltimore	20.6	41.8	102	18.6	29.3	57	2.0	12.5	525	90	70

\* Includes hotels, rooming houses, camps, personal services, miscellaneous business services, automobile service and repair, miscellaneous repair, motion pictures, amusement and recreation services. Excludes medical and other health services, legal and educational services, museums and art galleries, nonprofit organizations, and private household workers.

Sources: [196, Tables 2 and 5; 217, Tables 3 and 4]



SERIES IV:

POPULATION AND HOUSEHOLD PROJECTIONS IN THE TWELVE LARGEST METROPOLITAN  
AREAS, BY COLOR: 1960-1980

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NOTES ON TABLES: SERIES IV

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The population and household projections were calculated by 5 year age cohorts. The logical program was written by Richard Langendorf and this program was translated into computer language by John Bidwell. The data were processed at the Computation Center at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

The Basic Arithmetic

1. Start with 1960 population, by age, color, and sex.
2. Add births for women by age and color, 1960 to 1965.
3. Separate the new-born into males and females.
4. Subtract deaths in the population, by age, color, and sex, 1960 to 1965.
5. Advance the age of the survived 1960 population by 5 years. (1 + 4)
6. Add net-migrants by age, color, and sex, 1960 to 1965.
7. Total population for 1965, by age, color, and sex. (2 + 5 + 6)
8. Total households for 1965, by age, color, and sex.
9. Repeat cycle of calculations for each 5 year period. (1 - 8)

Review of Basic Data

The data for population and households are from 1960; migration data are from the period 1955-1960; and natality and mortality are from 1963. Detailed data are available from these various periods. However, the selection of these particular periods may introduce a bias into these projections. Because of the economic recession, it appears that migration into the major metropolitan areas was substantially less in the 1955-60 period than in the previous five years. Also, white and nonwhite birth rates declined by more than 11 percent in the period between 1957

and 1963. It is difficult to know if these changes represent short-term variations or whether they may indicate longer-term trends.

1. Population, 1960: The population for the metropolitan areas and their central cities are available by 5 year age groups, color, and sex. [203, Table P-2]
2. In-migrants, 1955-1960: The number of in-migrants 5 years old and over for the metropolitan areas and their central cities are available by age, color, and sex. [208, Table 4] The number of in-migrants are listed by 5 year age groups for ages 5 to 34, and 10 year age groups for those between 35 and 65. For these calculations it is assumed that each 10 year age group is divided equally into two 5 year age groups.
3. Out-migrants, 1955-1960: The number of out-migrants 5 years old and over for the metropolitan areas are available by age, color, and sex. [208, Table 5] The number of in-migrants are listed by 5 year age groups for ages 5 to 34, and 10 year age groups for those between 35 and 65. For these calculations it is assumed that each 10 year age group is divided equally into two 5 year age groups. It is also assumed that the proportion of metropolitan out-migrants from the central city is the same as the proportion of metropolitan residents living in the central city, for each color respectively.
4. Birth rates, 1963: Birth rates are available for women by 5 year age groups by color for the United States. [122, Table 10] The non-white national rates are adjusted for the major metropolitan areas by decreasing them by 15 percent. This adjustment is an estimate based upon two empirical observations: when children ever born per

1000 nonwhite women for U.S. total and urban are compared, the urban fall 13 percent below the total; and when birth rates are related to income, children ever born per 1000 nonwhite women with incomes at the medial level for the 12 largest metropolitan areas falls 16 percent below those at the U.S. median. [122, Tables 3 and 9] Birth rates for white women are decreased by 8 percent to adjust them for urban areas through similar calculations.

5. Sex Ratio at Birth, 1963: The sex ratio at birth is available by color. [122, Table 12]
6. Mortality rates, 1963: Mortality rates are available by age, color, and sex for the United States. [222, Table 1-4] There does not appear to be any rational basis or particularly important reason for assuming that national rates differ significantly from those in large metropolitan areas.
7. Heads of Households, 1960: Data are available for the ratio of heads of household to total population by color, age, and sex for urbanized areas. [210, Table 2] The given age groups are 14-17, 18-24, 25-44, 45-64, 65-74, and 75 or more. These can be adjusted graphically in order to assign head of household ratios for 5 year age groups. These values, graphically extrapolated, were checked by comparing this to the actual number of nonwhite households in the central cities of the 12 largest metropolitan areas. The estimated and actual number of households varied up to 10 percent within individual cities, but there was only a 1.02 percent difference between the actual and the estimated number of households for the 12 city total.

IVA-1 POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY, BY COLOR

A. NONWHITE

	1960			1965			1970			1980		
	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring
New York	1,287	1,141	146	1,452	1,262	190	1,610	1,374	236	1,968	1,631	337
Los Angeles	594	416	178	732	488	244	880	564	316	1,230	742	488
Chicago	920	837	83	1,030	932	98	1,144	1,029	115	1,439	1,143	296
Philadelphia	681	535	146	746	580	166	814	626	188	985	744	241
Detroit	566	487	79	603	519	84	640	552	88	750	649	101
San Francisco	346	135	211	393	165	228	443	197	246	568	271	297
Boston	87	68	19	98	77	21	109	87	22	139	111	28
Pittsburgh	163	101	62	170	106	64	177	110	67	201	124	77
St. Louis	297	216	81	314	227	87	333	238	95	390	275	115
Washington, D.C.	499	418	81	566	474	92	636	532	104	806	676	130
Cleveland	260	253	7	291	284	7	323	317	6	404	400	4
Baltimore	382	328	54	420	360	60	461	394	67	568	486	82

B. WHITE

	1960			1965			1970			1980		
	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring
New York	9,306	6,640	2,666	9,104	5,993	3,111	8,902	5,292	3,610	8,633	3,742	4,841
Los Angeles	6,147	2,061	4,086	6,792	2,081	4,711	7,519	2,114	5,405	9,311	2,243	7,068
Chicago	5,300	2,712	5,588	5,356	2,289	3,067	6,451	1,853	3,598	5,829	959	4,870
Philadelphia	3,661	1,467	2,194	3,758	1,267	2,491	3,881	1,062	2,819	4,253	641	3,612
Detroit	3,195	1,182	2,013	3,171	858	2,313	3,155	525	2,630	3,171	127	3,044
San Francisco	2,436	604	1,832	2,560	535	2,025	2,710	466	2,244	3,113	319	2,794
Boston	2,502	628	1,874	2,491	554	1,937	2,503	484	2,019	2,610	341	2,269
Pittsburgh	2,241	502	1,739	2,228	441	1,787	2,228	380	1,848	2,292	257	2,035
St. Louis	1,762	534	1,228	1,787	387	1,400	1,826	236	1,590	1,976	39	1,937
Washington, D.C.	1,502	345	1,157	1,649	278	1,371	1,812	213	1,599	2,001	77	1,924
Cleveland	1,535	622	913	1,522	475	1,047	1,521	326	1,195	1,577	58	1,519
Baltimore	1,344	610	734	1,387	489	898	1,438	362	1,076	1,582	95	1,487

IVA-2 PERCENT OF POPULATION NONWHITE, INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY

	1960			1965			1970			1980		
	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring
New York	12	15	5	14	17	6	15	21	6	19	30	7
Los Angeles	9	17	4	10	19	5	10	21	6	12	25	6
Chicago	17	24	3	16	29	3	17	36	3	20	54	6
Philadelphia	16	27	6	17	31	6	17	37	6	19	54	6
Detroit	15	29	4	16	38	4	17	51	3	19	84	3
San Francisco	12	18	10	13	24	10	14	30	10	15	46	10
Boston	3	10	1	4	12	1	4	15	1	5	25	1
Pittsburgh	7	17	3	7	19	3	7	22	3	8	33	4
St. Louis	14	29	6	15	37	6	15	50	6	17	88	6
Washington, D.C.	25	55	7	26	63	6	26	71	6	29	90	6
Cleveland	14	29	1	16	37	1	18	49	0	20	87	0
Baltimore	22	35	7	23	42	6	24	52	6	27	84	5

IVA-3 AGE OF THE POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY,  
BY COLOR (12 SMSA TOTAL)

A. NONWHITE

AGE (Years)	1960			1965			1970			1980		
	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring
less than 5	840	680	160	871	707	164	925	603	322	1,277	1,003	274
5-16	1,444	1,153	291	1,820	1,454	366	2,051	1,636	415	2,446	1,880	566
17-24	600	481	119	715	565	150	972	768	204	1,333	1,064	279
25-34	939	768	171	892	712	180	903	707	196	1,437	1,123	314
35-44	892	730	162	965	778	187	936	741	195	902	682	220
45-64	1,068	877	191	1,224	994	230	1,398	1,122	276	1,610	1,256	354
65 or more	301	244	57	327	266	61	382	310	72	494	396	98

B. WHITE

AGE (Years)	1960			1965			1970			1980		
	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring	SMSA	CC	Ring
less than 5	4,269	1,556	2,713	3,823	1,380	2,443	3,963	1,142	2,821	4,998	844	4,154
5-16	8,693	3,240	5,453	9,659	2,847	6,812	9,638	2,375	7,263	9,846	1,554	8,292
17-24	3,659	1,679	1,980	4,445	1,659	2,786	5,356	1,583	3,773	5,851	1,029	4,822
25-34	5,375	2,244	3,131	4,808	1,678	3,130	5,073	1,441	3,632	7,293	1,289	6,004
35-44	5,967	2,435	3,532	5,831	1,911	3,920	5,165	1,278	3,887	4,871	656	4,215
45-64	9,063	4,638	4,425	9,622	4,296	5,326	10,150	3,755	6,395	9,915	3,132	7,783
65 or more	8,904	2,115	6,789	3,619	1,876	1,743	3,597	1,742	1,855	3,874	1,504	2,370

IVA-4 PERCENT OF WHITE AND NONWHITE SMSA POPULATION IN CENTRAL CITY, BY AGE, AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE AND NONWHITE POPULATION INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY, BY AGE (12 SMSA TOTAL)

AGE (Years)	Percent of SMSA Population in CC				Percent Distribution of the Population by Age							
					1960				1980			
	1960		1980		CC		Ring		CC		Ring	
	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white	white	non-white
total	44	81	19	78	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
less than 5	36	81	17	79	9	14	12	14	9	14	11	13
5-16	37	80	16	77	18	23	24	25	17	25	22	28
17-24	46	80	18	79	9	10	9	10	11	14	13	14
25-34	42	82	18	78	13	16	14	15	14	15	16	15
35-44	41	82	13	76	14	15	15	14	7	9	11	11
45-64	51	82	22	78	26	18	19	17	24	17	21	17
65 or more	54	81	39	80	12	5	8	5	17	5	6	5

IVA-5 HOUSEHOLDS INSIDE AND OUTSIDE THE CENTRAL CITY, BY COLOR AND AGE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD (12 SMSA TOTAL)

A. SMSA

	1960		1970		1980		Change 1960 to 1970		Change 1970 to 1980	
	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over
White	2907	10,102	3046	10,048	4184	9864	139	-54	1138	-184
Nonwhite	490	1217	526	1437	827	1571	36	220	301	134
Total	3397	11,319	3572	11,485	5011	11,435	175	166	1439	-50

B. CENTRAL CITY

	1960		1970		1980		Change 1960 to 1970		Change 1970 to 1980	
	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over
White	1261	4871	917	3582	777	2280	-344	-1289	-140	-1302
Nonwhite	397	994	410	1146	647	1215	13	152	237	69
Total	1658	5865	1327	4728	1424	3495	-331	-1137	97	-1233

C. RING

	1960		1970		1980		Change 1960 to 1970		Change 1970 to 1980	
	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over	under 35	35 or over
White	1646	5231	2129	6466	3407	7584	483	1235	1278	1118
Nonwhite	93	223	116	291	180	356	23	68	64	65
Total	1739	5454	2245	6757	3587	7940	506	1303	1342	1183



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## BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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Richard Langendorf was born in Chicago, Illinois in 1934. He grew up in Southern California where he attended Beverly Hills High School. Afterwards, he attended architectural school at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he received a Bachelor of Architecture degree in 1957.

After graduation the author returned to Los Angeles where he worked with the architect Craig Ellwood before serving six months in the Army Medical Corps. After the military service the author established his own architectural practice in Beverly Hills and lectured at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Between 1960 and 1964 the author lived and worked abroad. During this period the author lectured at a number of architecture and planning schools, including those in Tokyo, Singapore, Baroda, and New Delhi. He also prepared a study for the Ahmedabad Education Society entitled: "Policy, goals, and curriculum for a new school of Architecture, Ahmedabad, India." The first students were admitted to the school shortly thereafter. In addition, while in India, he associated with B.V. Doshi and prepared preliminary designs for a number of buildings and a master plan for Gandhidam New Town, India.

Before returning to the United States, he was consultant to Hentrich and Petschnigg, Dusseldorf, Germany. There he co-directed the preparation of a master plan for entry in the Bochum University competition. This entry won first prize, and the University is currently under construction.

After returning to the United States the author re-established his practice in Beverly Hills California. In the next two years he also was a visiting lecturer at the Department of City and Regional Planning at the University of Southern California and he served as consultant to the Center for Planning and Development Research at the University of California in Berkeley.

In September, 1964, the author returned to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology where he has since been a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of City and Regional Planning. During this time he also completed an architectural project in California, prepared a study on New Town Development in the Northeast Corridor for the U.S. Department of Commerce, and worked with the U.S. Community Relations Service and the Vice President's Task Force on Urban Problems.